Vol. 6, No. 5
November/December 1997
$9.00

PolicyFax Update Inside

Intellectual Ammunition

a publication of The Heartland Institute

Potshots

Philosophical Question: If a man speaks in the forest and there is no woman to hear him, is he still wrong?

—*Wishigan Outdoors*

A plan to save humanity is almost always a false front for the urge to rule.

—H.L. Mencken

I never thought I'd participate in an arena other than pro sports where there were bigger egos until I got to Washington.

—Congressman J.C. Watts Jr. *(R-Oklahoma)*

Computers must be male: They'll usually do what you ask them to do, but they won't do more than they have to and they won't think of it on their own.

Computers must be female: No one but their creator understands their logic.

The more you read and observe about this Politics thing, you got to admit that each party is worse than the other. The one that's out always looks the best.

—Will Rogers

The most powerful single force in the world today is neither Communism nor capitalism, neither the H-bomb nor the guided missile—it is man's eternal desire to be free and independent.

—John F. Kennedy

How States Can Reform Health Care

by Conrad F. Meier

Any law passed to benefit one group of people, or to achieve one social goal, will invariably work to hurt the interests of another group of people, or to frustrate the accomplishment of some other goal. I call this the "Law of Probable Dispersal": *whatever hits the fan will not be evenly distributed.*

Nowhere has the operation of the Law of Probable Dispersal been more apparent than in our efforts to reform health care.

The Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA) contains hundreds of new regulations and mandates that push the health insurance industry toward guaranteed issue, higher premiums, more state government subsidies, more cross subsidization across consumer groups, and less protection of medical privacy between doctors and patients. For those of us who believe the objectives of reform should be lower costs, greater consumer freedom, more competition, and the protection of medical privacy, HIPAA represents a giant step in the wrong direction.

HIPAA and Unintended Consequences

HIPAA does not operate in a vacuum. It is imposed *on top of* a complex system of federal, state, and local regulations and mandates, and more importantly, on a system that has been fundamentally shaped by the perverse incentive systems that past public policy decisions have created. The result is a chain reaction of negative unintended consequences, a classic demonstration of the Law of Probable Dispersal. Consider:

- HIPAA was adopted in the name of giving *low-income persons greater access to* health care, yet the new law will have the effect of raising premium prices, thereby pricing *still more people out of the market.*
- Most of the uninsured are young and healthy. By imposing guaranteed issue and collective renewal, HIPAA forces members of this group to pay higher premiums to subsidize the health care costs of those who are older and less healthy, making it even less likely that they will buy insurance.
- HIPAA was supposed to end "job lock"—the fear of leaving a job because to do so would mean losing health insurance as well. But by requiring insurers to accept previously insured people applying for individual coverage, HIPAA makes the individual insurer the insurer of last resort. This opens the door

continued on page 3

In This Issue

Crime 4
Education 5
Environment 6
Health Care 7
Law 8
Privatization 10
Regulation 11
Taxes 12
Uncovered 13
Welfare 14
Point of View 15
Excerpt 18
Contacts 20

tools for political survival

Q:

Plastics?

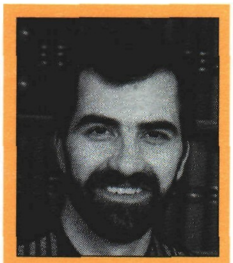
A:

The Society of the Plastics Industry and The American Plastics Council.

For answers to your questions about plastics' role in the environment, call Susan Kissler, media relations manager.

202/974-5384

SPI/APC State Government Affairs
1801 K Street, NW
Suite 701-L
Washington, DC 20006
http://www.plasticsresource.com



News from the Heartland

by Joseph L. Bast
Publisher

The Road to ClintonCare

Back in 1944, in a book titled *The Road to Serfdom*, Friedrich Hayek warned that small increases in the size and power of government often destabilize private institutions and economic processes. This may lead to calls for further government intervention, which lead to still more destabilization, and so on. The benevolent government programs of the welfare state, Hayek warned, are separated from the ugly totalitarianism of Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union by a short and slippery slide.

Conrad Meier, author of this issue's feature article, sees a similar progression toward socialism and coercion in the Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act of 1996 (HIPAA). By destabilizing the private health insurance marketplace, HIPAA cleared the path for more socialization of the U.S. health care industry. With "KidCare," higher cigarette taxes, and new mandates on managed care providers, we are rapidly moving toward the sweeping government takeover of the health care industry proposed by President Clinton in 1993 but rejected by Congress and the American people.

Meier presents an ambitious proactive reform agenda that national and state legislators can pursue to oppose the centralizing and coercive tendencies of HIPAA. It involves "getting the incentives right so that the system maintains its own equilibrium," thereby avoiding the need for later government interventions.

According to Meier, it is not too late to stop the big-government juggernaut in the health care field. The tools are available, but elected officials need the courage to use them.

Princess Who?

If you are tired of all the media attention given to the recent accidental death of Princess Diana, you've come to the right place. The following pages are certified 100 percent Diana-free.

In recent years, many of the nation's print and broadcast media have reduced the amount of time and space they devote to public policy debates. Most major daily newspapers have cut the number of reporters who cover taxes, health care, and similar issues, and now simply reprint bland wire stories written by anonymous drones in the beltway. Television news is dominated by fiery traffic accidents, gruesome crimes, weather, and entertainment.

Whenever I raised the question with journalist friends, I was told there "just isn't enough space (or time)" to cover public policy. But seeing the first five pages of my daily newspaper devoted to nothing but "virtual mourning" (as one perceptive columnist puts it) for Princess Diana reveals the truth. There's plenty of room for what editors think the public wants to see. They just don't think their readers care about taxes, the quality of their schools, global warming politics, or any of the myriad other topics addressed in this issue of *Intellectual Ammunition*.

With all due respect, we disagree. Public policy decisions being debated today will have far greater impact on "Joe Lunchbucket" than the latest freeway collision, crime spree, and, yes, even the death of a princess. Shame on the news media for not making the effort to convey this simple truth to their readers and viewers.

Intellectual Ammunition (ISSN 1077-8861) is published bimonthly by The Heartland Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research and education organization. Nothing in *Intellectual Ammunition* should be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heartland Institute or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any legislation. Reprint permission is granted, provided sufficient credit is given to The Heartland Institute. Annual subscription with Heartland membership $49.00; single issue $9.00. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to The Heartland Institute, 800 East Northwest Highway, Suite 1080, Palatine, IL 60067-6516; telephone 847/202-3060, fax 847/202-9799.

Publisher: Joseph L. Bast ❖ **Editor:** Diane Carol Bast ❖ **Art Director:** Matthew J. Nutting

Contributing Editors: *Crime* Morgan Reynolds, National Center for Policy Analysis; *Education* George Clowes, The Heartland Institute; *Environment* Jonathan H. Adler, Competitive Enterprise Institute; *Health Care* Michael D. Tanner, Cato Institute; *Law* John E. Kramer, Institute for Justice; *Privatization* William Eggers, Reason Foundation; *Regulation* Murray Weidenbaum, Center for the Study of American Business; *Taxes* Stephen Gold, Tax Foundation; *Uncovered* Robert V. Pambianco, Capital Research Center; *Welfare* Robert Rector, The Heritage Foundation.

continued from page 1

to cost-shifting by group insurers who can work with employers to carve unhealthy individuals out of their group plans. The result is to undermine the profitability of many individual insurers and almost certainly to reduce the supply of individual insurance, thus increasing rather than decreasing "job lock."

- HIPAA allows up to 750,000 previously insured persons to open Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs) to test the theory that reducing reliance on third-party insurers would lead to more price competition. But there are so many restrictions on who can buy the policies and how they must be operated that large insurers are unlikely to sell the product and small employers are unlikely to buy it due to the paperwork requirements. The result is a test designed to fail.

HIPAA leaves in place virtually all of the past policy decisions that have worked to unnecessarily raise the cost and lower the quality of health care. Except for a pilot experiment with Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs), HIPAA leaves in place the unequal tax treatment of employer-paid insurance premiums and self-insurance. Coverage mandates, anti-trust laws, certificate of need programs, restrictive occupational licensing laws, and a foot-dragging Food and Drug Administration (FDA) all are untouched by HIPAA.

Beyond HIPAA: A Proactive Agenda

In many cases, states can legitimately claim to be already meeting the portability and renewal requirements contained in HIPAA, or can meet them by adopting only minor changes to existing policies. In fact, during their legislative sessions earlier this year, most states pursued this course of action.

But state legislators should do more than find relatively easy ways to implement HIPAA. In the long run, America's health care system and its citizens will be far better served by removing the laws and legal barriers that often unnecessarily inflate the cost and reduce the supply of quality health care.

The goal of reform is to ensure—and in some cases restore—a well-ordered health care system that respects the rights and liberties of both patients and doctors. These reforms achieve that goal by *getting the incentives right* so that the system maintains its own equilibrium, avoiding the need for new laws and the unintended consequences predicted by the Law of Probable Dispersal.

Recommended Reforms

- Expand COBRA benefit extensions to 24 months and extend the benefits to employers with as few as two employees. Immediately and without anti-market negative consequences, this reform will help protect workers from the effects of losing insurance due to job changes or extended periods of illness.
- Allow private ownership of an employee health insurance certificate. If you really want to make insurance portable, let employees own their own policies so they can take them when and wherever they go. We own our life insurance policies, our retirement policies, and our auto insurance. We *should and could* own our health policies.
- Allow small employers to form what I call S-H-I-Ps—Small Employer Health Insurance Pools. Self-funding for small employers—usually with fewer than 50 employees—is rarely economically feasible. But, a large group of small employers could finance such a solution. This would moderate, if not eliminate, the consequences of expensive state and federal mandates.

> *The goal of reform is to ensure—and in some cases restore—a well-ordered health care system that respects the rights and liberties of both patients and doctors.*

- Expand the federal Medical Savings Account (MSA) program created by HIPAA, as well as state-based MSA programs, to provide relief from the high cost of low-deductible health insurance. If only 20 percent of the 40 million Americans without health insurance who are eligible to buy an MSA actually did so, 8 million people would disappear from the ranks of the uninsured without heavy-handed federal intervention.
- Expand the use of state-based high-risk health insurance pools to include not only the uninsurable, but also those who are medically diagnosed as high-health risk consumers. Removing high-risk consumers from the standard risk insurance pool will stabilize the individual and small group markets and allow insurers to better forecast their claims liability, encouraging them to lower premiums.
- Repeal Certificate of Need (CON) programs. The goal of the CON program was to encourage consolidation of small and supposedly inefficient hospitals and to reduce duplication of medical services. But CON laws work to prevent rival, lower-cost outpatient surgical clinics from entering hospital markets. CON programs have increased hospital operating costs by discouraging efficient investments in capital. Over twenty states have either eliminated or revised their CON laws and the way they are enforced.
- Abandon the notion that you can control premium inflation through community rating of insurance policies. Community rating shifts health care costs onto young, healthy workers in order to subsidize lower premiums for older, less healthy people. This tends to drive young, healthy people out of the insurance market. After a few rate increase cycles, community rating increases premium costs for *everyone*.
- Restore tax equity by allowing a 100 percent tax deduction on health insurance premiums for the self-employed. HIPAA allows the deduction to rise from the current 40 percent of premiums to 80 percent by the year 2006 and thereafter. Speeding up the process would help about 18 million people immediately. Meanwhile, states can pass favorable state legislation that allows 100 percent state-tax deductibility.

The aforementioned solutions address only half of the trillion-dollar health care market. Unfortunately, the other half is managed or influenced by the same folks that run Amtrak, the Post Office, the IRS, and Social Security.

Until Medicare, Medicaid, and now "KiddieCare" are privatized, whatever anti-market device the federal government invents in the name of improvement will certainly hit the fan, with its negative effects unevenly distributed across the private half of the health care industry.

Competition and choice, not more regulations and price controls, are the most promising way to lower spending and improve the quality of health care delivered in the United States.

❖

Conrad F. Meier is a health policy advisor for The Heartland Institute. This article is based on a presentation he delivered to the annual meeting of the American Legislative Exchange Council on August 14, 1997.

Morgan O. Reynolds

Morgan Reynolds is director of the Criminal Justice Center at the National Center for Policy Analysis.

How the Federal Government Promotes Crime

The White House and Congress like to take credit for falling crime. Yet there is clear evidence that Big Government has not lowered crime, but elevated it. Consider one example: Congress has done a miserable job—far worse than any city government—of controlling crime in the one city under its direct supervision. The murder rate in Washington, DC is second only to that of New Orleans, twice that of New York City, and eight times higher than the national average.

Nationally, crime skyrocketed in the 1960s and 1970s following the Warren Court's reshaping of the criminal justice system into a thicket of defendants' rights. Most damaging was the 1966 *Miranda* 5-4 decision, the most famous of all Supreme Court criminal rulings. As a result, the police today must advise all suspects of their "Miranda rights": don't talk to us and don't be stupid enough to confess, even if you desperately want to. The Miranda decision was followed by a sudden and permanent decline in the rate of confessions, from 55 to 60 per 100 arrests to only 40, with a corresponding decline in the arrest clearance rate. Crime predictably soared.

Violent crimes by teenagers have doubled in the last ten years. Federal mandates, created in 1974 to divert juveniles from the justice system, have contributed to the problem. Widely acknowledged for damaging state and local efforts to combat young predators, these mandates may be relaxed in new federal legislation this year.

Some of the most successful local programs involve clever ways of getting around federal impediments to crime-fighting. In Charleston, South Carolina, for example, police get around the federal mandate against confining truants by taking them back to school. To enforce curfews, parents voluntarily agree that their own children should be forcibly returned home, obviating civil liberties objections. A reward of $100 in the "Hot Tip" program for information about juvenile gun possession gives police "reasonable grounds" or probable cause for search and seizure.

Through its grant-making powers, the federal government has coerced the states into using their crime-fighting resources inefficiently. The Brady law, for example, forces local law enforcement officials to spend resources checking the records of citizens, most of whom are law-abiding, who want to purchase guns. Local communities must put up matching funds to sustain COPS (Community Oriented Police Services) and then fully fund them after three years of federal assistance, diverting money from efforts that may prove more effective in deterring crime.

Federal tax money helps communities that fail to control crime and punishes communities that succeed in holding down crime. The result? Crime is inadvertently subsidized. Federal crime grants also unintentionally transfer money from poor states (with low crime rates) to rich states (with high crime rates) and from rural areas (with only two-thirds of urban income) to urban areas. Competition for federal crime-fighting funds steers local efforts away from innovation toward a deadening uniformity favored by federal bureaucrats.

The federal welfare system bears major responsibility for the breakdown of the family, which in turn has spawned a massive increase in crime. AFDC, for example, has long subsidized out-of-wedlock birth, and yet African-American kids without a resident father are twice as likely to commit crimes as are statistically identical black kids with a resident father. Programs that successfully reduce the root causes of crime are almost always local, often faith-based, and have little, if any, federal involvement.

> *Federal tax money punishes communities that succeed in holding down crime.*

Federal policies in education have helped to lower the quality of public schools, and inferior academic achievement has contributed to juvenile and adult crime. Federal grants reward schools that fail. Further, federal judges have mandated busing, thereby driving middle-income families (mostly white) from urban schools, leaving failing schools behind. School choice programs are opposed by federal policy but would allow many children to escape failing inner-city schools.

Unintended consequences abound in federal intervention. JFK's youth crime program, for example, became a slush fund for big-city mayors. The Law Enforcement Assistance Act (LEAA) splurged $8 billion while crime soared. Local elected officials have much better incentives than politicians and bureaucrats ensconced in a distant national capitol.

In the *Federalist Papers* Alexander Hamilton referred to "one transcendent advantage belonging to the province of the State governments"—namely, "the ordinary administration of criminal and civil justice." When the federal government takes the lead on crime policy, disaster usually ensues. Instead of new crime-fighting programs and more money, the federal government should retreat to a backup role where truly federal interests are involved.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

The Real Root Causes of Violent Crime
Without an understanding of the root causes of criminal behavior, Congress and state legislators cannot understand why whole sectors of society are being torn apart by crime. (The Heritage Foundation 1995, 14 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #1300401

New York Proposes End to Teacher Tenure

George Clowes

George Clowes is managing editor of *School Reform News*, a monthly newspaper published by The Heartland Institute.

New York State Assemblywoman Debra Mazzarelli has introduced a bill that would replace the state's system of lifetime teacher tenure with renewable five-year contracts.

The Children's Right to Education Act of 1997 would establish employee performance, as measured by evaluations, as the only basis for not renewing the contract. Mazzarelli's bill specifically prohibits a school board from basing contract renewal on the employee's salary, race, religion, nationality, sex, health, political affiliation, political activity, or sexual orientation.

A recent survey found that 75 percent of New Yorkers support replacing permanent tenure for teachers with renewable contracts.

Teachers Sue Washington Union

On June 24, a group of ten teachers filed suit against the Washington Education Association for taking money from their paychecks without permission and using the funds to pay for the union's political lobbying activities. The plaintiffs, calling themselves Teachers for a Responsible Union, are seeking to recover any unapproved paycheck deductions used for the union's political activities. State campaign finance laws require a teacher's written consent every year before an employer can make such deductions for the union.

This latest action against the union follows a $1.2 million suit filed in February by State Attorney General Christine Gregoire, charging the WEA with "hundreds of thousands of dollars" in campaign finance violations. The WEA has called the latest lawsuit a political attack, labeling some of the teachers "disgruntled dinosaurs."

> *75 percent of New Yorkers support replacing permanent tenure for teachers with renewable contracts.*

Redbook Blasts Unions for Bad Teachers

In a six-page story labeled "A Must-Read Report for Every Parent," *Redbook* magazine takes on "bad teachers" in its September issue. By *Redbook* writer Ronnie Polaneczky, the story opens "In public schools today, rotten teachers—whether they're incompetent, lazy, or even downright abusive—can hang on to their jobs for years. Strong union rules will protect them. Here are the ways to protect your child."

Polaneczky's article recounts horrifying stories of the abuse children take from bad teachers who never seem to get fired. She attributes the problem to tenure laws more than anything else. "While tenure doesn't actually guarantee a teacher a job for life, it does make the conditions for dismissal—including lengthy documentation, reviews, and appeals—incredibly costly and time-consuming."

NEA Rejects Competition

Among the resolutions passed at the National Education Association's annual convention in July were these:

A-1. Public Education. "The Association believes that its members should support public education by sending their children to public educational institutions."

A-26. Deleterious Programs. "The National Education Association believes that the following programs and practices are detrimental to public education and must be eliminated: privatization, performance contracting, tax credits for tuition to private and parochial schools, voucher plans (or funding formulas that have the same effect as vouchers), planned program budgeting systems (PPBS), and evaluations by private, profit-making groups."

A-28. Voucher Plans and Tuition Tax Credits. "The National Education Association believes that voucher plans and tuition tax credits or funding formulas that have the same effect under which pre-K through 12 nonpublic school education is subsidized by tax monies—undermine public education, reduce the support needed to adequately fund public education, and have the potential for racial, economic, and social segregation of children. The Association opposes all attempts to establish and implement such plans."

B-63. Home Schooling. "The National Education Association believes that home schooling programs cannot provide the student with a comprehensive education experience. The Association believes that if parental preference home schooling study occurs, students enrolled must meet all state requirements. Instruction should be by persons who are licensed by the appropriate state education licensure agency, and a curriculum approved by the state department of education should be used. The Association further believes that such home schooling programs should be limited to the children of the immediate family, with all expenses being borne by the parents."

D-18 Competency Testing and Evaluation. "The National Education Association believes that competency testing must not be used as a condition of employment, license retention, evaluation, placement, ranking, or promotion of licensed teachers."

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Cumulative and Residual Effects of Teachers on Future Student Achievement

Summarizes a study by the Value-Added Research and Assessment Center, documenting the long-term negative effects suffered by students with bad teachers. (University of Tennessee 1996, 14 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #2180301

Jonathan H. Adler

Jonathan H. Adler is director of environmental studies at the Competitive Enterprise Institute.

Greenhouse Imperialism

Despite uncertain scientific evidence of a global threat, an international treaty on global warming seems imminent. In December, world leaders will gather in Kyoto, Japan, to consider a global agreement to control emissions of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases. As it stands now, industrialized nations will be expected to cut their emissions significantly, a move that will come at tremendous cost. The developing world will not be required to take the same steps, even though that is where most of the growth in emissions will come from in coming decades. Indeed, the United Nations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change predicts that developing nations will account for the majority of greenhouse gas emissions by 2020.

Some fear, understandably, that such a treaty will let developing nations "off the hook." Yet before we come to that conclusion, we should think about what imposing restrictions on countries like the United States and Europe will do to the developing world.

Imposing restrictions on industrialized nations will increase the cost of capital goods, slow technological development, and restrict and contract the export markets upon which many developing nations depend. "The markets [in developed nations] to which these developing countries sell a large share of their exported goods will shrink, so that most developing countries would also be harmed by the adoption of emission limits" on industrialized nations, according to economist David Montgomery of Charles River Associates. In other words, *any* policy that cuts off growth in the industrialized nations will have a ripple effect on developing nations.

Environmentalist activists claim that global warming should be a concern in the Third World. Yet the environmental concerns that face most of the world are not the things that we hear about on the evening news or read about in fundraising appeals from the National Audubon Society or Sierra Club. They are more mundane problems like access to safe drinking water and adequate sanitation. The World Health Organization estimates that 3 to 5 million people per year die in the developing world because of lack of access to safe drinking water and sanitation. Addressing such concerns requires economic growth and technological advance, precisely the things that a global warming treaty will retard.

Air pollution remains a real concern in many developing nations, particularly indoors. The use of wood and dung for heating and cooking in poorer nations contributes to unhealthy indoor air quality. Ironically, the increased residential use of fossil fuels, particularly oil and natural gas, would represent a significant advance in public health in many nations.

While outdoor air pollution initially rises as wealth increases, it typically peaks and then declines as economic growth continues. The evidence is clear that increased wealth correlates with heightened concern for environmental issues and improved environmental quality. The World Bank reports that "When individuals no longer have to worry about day-to-day survival, they can devote resources to profitable investments in conservation."

If we want the developing countries to have an environmental record similar to that in the United States, we should not force them to embark upon the greenhouse road to serfdom that the Clinton Administration is proposing. According to Interior Department analyst Indur Goklany, "Anything that retards economic growth generally also retards environmental cleanup and consigns millions to squalid and untimely deaths."

> *Any global climate change policy that cuts off growth in the industrialized nations will have a ripple effect on developing nations.*

It is certainly possible that the continued burning of fossil fuels might one day produce global warming. Yet this fact, in and of itself, is no cause for alarm. The essential question is not whether the earth's climate may change—nature is in constant flux—but what an increase in global temperatures would mean for life on the planet. The earth's climate has changed dramatically over the course of human history, and one should not assume that any climatic change is inherently bad. Indeed, the more that scientists learn about the likely effects of a marginal change in temperature—longer growing seasons, increased agricultural productivity, fewer storms—the less it seems we have to fear.

While global warming is highly uncertain, the impacts of global warming policies are not. Dramatic restrictions on energy use would have severe economic effects in this country and throughout the world. An international treaty to tightly restrict greenhouse gas emissions will severely impact the American way of life, and its effects will reverberate throughout the global economy. The treaty is a bad idea . . . both economically *and* environmentally.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Climate Change 95: An Appraisal
Dr. Vincent Gray, a peer reviewer for the IPCC, finds no evidence to support drastic measures to control greenhouse gas emissions. (The Heartland Institute 1997, 23 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #2329424 (10 pages) and #2329425 (13 pages)

Do We Really Need a Surgeon General?

Michael Tanner

Michael D. Tanner is director of health and welfare studies at the Cato Institute.

President Clinton has nominated Dr. David Satcher, currently head of the Centers for Disease Control, to be the next Surgeon General. By all accounts, Dr. Satcher is an amiable and uncontroversial nominee.

After the firestorm surrounding the nomination of Henry Foster and the tumultuous tenure of Joycelyn Elders, one can be forgiven for heaving a sigh of relief and saying, "why not Satcher?"

But a better question would be, "Do we really need a Surgeon General at all?" As a matter of fact, has anyone even noticed that we haven't had one for the past two years?

> *Do we really need a Surgeon General at all? Has anyone even noticed that we haven't had one for the past two years?*

When you get right down to it, the Surgeon General really doesn't do very much. The office was first established in the 19th century to ensure medical care for the navy. For years, surgeons general labored in quiet obscurity, until C. Everett Koop dragged the old navy-style uniforms out of mothballs and discovered television.

Today, the mission of the Surgeon General's office is "to protect and advance the health of the Nation through educating the public; advocating for effective disease prevention and health promotion programs and activities; and providing a highly recognized symbol of national commitment to protecting and improving the public's health."

In other words, the Surgeon General is little more than the "national nanny," nagging us to stop smoking, lose weight, exercise more, and never go out without a condom.

I've been flipping through my copy of the Constitution, and I can't figure out where it authorizes the federal government to take the taxpayers' money to establish an office to tell us how we should live our lives.

There are plenty of private groups that are fully capable of instructing us on how to be healthy, wealthy, and wise, without the government's getting involved. The American Lung Association can tell us not to smoke. Alcoholics Anonymous can preach sobriety. The American Medical Association can lecture all the couch potatoes on the benefits of losing weight and exercising more. Planned Parenthood and the Family Research Council can fight it out over when and how we should have sex.

Even the "uniformed Commissioned Corps"—operating under the Surgeon General's office to "enhance the Nation's emergency response capability to natural and manmade disasters"—has a more effective private-sector counterpart in the American Red Cross.

Worse even than the redundancy of the Surgeon General's programs, its involvement turns all those health questions into political ones. Both left and right want access to a government-funded microphone. Today, the Clinton administration wants to lecture us on safe sex. Tomorrow, a different administration may want to lecture us on abstinence. I don't want to be forced to pay for either one.

It's not that I don't believe these are important issues. I would love to see healthier Americans. But this is a government that has enough problems trying to deliver the mail. Being the nanny for 260 million Americans seems a little beyond its ability, and even farther beyond its proper role.

If constitutional considerations are not enough to eliminate this office, perhaps budgetary ones are. Congress is searching for ways to cut spending and balance the budget. The Surgeon General's office is relatively small (nine staffers) and inexpensive as federal bureaucracies go—roughly a million dollars a year. But a million here, a million there, and pretty soon you have real money.

> *The Surgeon General is little more than the "national nanny," nagging us to stop smoking, lose weight, exercise more, and never go out without a condom.*

The Surgeon General does oversee the Public Health Service. But we already have a Department of Health and Human Services that is supposed to be running the government's health care programs. Why not let HHS take over any useful functions of the Public Health Service and dump the rest, including the Surgeon General?

We've done just fine without a Surgeon General. Let's keep it that way—and enjoy the peace and quiet.

Available on *PolicyFax*

The Science and Politics of Tobacco
Summarizes the proceedings of a Cato Institute conference on the science and politics behind smoking. Among the speakers was Jane Gravelle, an economist with the Congressional Research Service. (Cato Institute 1994, 9 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #2380401

Law

Donna G. Matias

Donna G. Matias is a staff attorney at the Institute for Justice, which represents Alvaro Cardona in his lawsuit against UCLA.

UCLA & ACLU Turn Their Backs on Free Speech

It used to be that an individual whose civil liberties were violated could count on the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). The organization was renowned for litigating on principle. It often represented the least savory characters in our society, particularly in First Amendment cases. In fact, ACLU attorneys prided themselves on never turning away a good First Amendment case: While they might not agree with a speaker's message, they would defend to death that person's right to speak.

Times have changed. When Alvaro Cardona's First Amendment rights were violated, he turned to the Southern California chapter of the ACLU. Four months after he requested their assistance, they rejected his case, claiming "severely limited" resources.

Alvaro is not a pornographer trying to distribute his wares to children over the Internet, nor is he the head of a racist, misogynistic cult that wants to march on public property. He's just a hard-working guy, not particularly politically active, who wants to tutor students in order to help them empower themselves and succeed.

Alvaro is a history student at UCLA, somewhat unlike most of his undergraduate peers: He is a 30-year-old Guatemalan immigrant, married with three children, and he never finished high school. In fact, he married and started a family at 16 years old. While other teens bopped around to football games and dances, Al worked full time to support his family and make a better life for himself. By the time he was 22, he earned nearly $35,000 managing several restaurants.

> *Had the ACLU concentrated on restraining government action to protect all individuals, it would not have turned away the cause of free speech.*

But Al, an avid reader since his youth, still dreamed of pursuing an education. So he obtained his high school equivalency degree and eventually enrolled in a community college. At Valley College in Van Nuys, Al's major course of study was history, but he also loved to write. He got a job tutoring other students in everything from basic English to composition. Most of those who came for tutoring were, like Al, minorities, and many were immigrants learning English as a second language. For two years Al tutored and made his way through Valley College. Eventually he was accepted into UCLA's undergraduate history program.

Once there, Al wanted to continue tutoring English. He was encouraged to apply for a job as a tutor in the university's Academic Advancement Program (AAP), the largest undergraduate affirmative action program in the country. AAP provides free tutoring and counseling services to all students who fit AAP criteria: those from select racial groups (African-American, Chicano/Latino, Filipino, Native American, and Pacific Islander) or from low-income families.

By all accounts, Al himself qualifies to receive AAP services. But the powers-that-be at AAP did not consider him qualified to *tutor* AAP students—despite his good grades, mastery of the subject, and two years' tutoring experience. In fact, the supervisor who interviewed Al never bothered to ask about such matters. Rather, the half-hour interview focused on whether Al believed there was institutionalized racism at UCLA and whether he took a loyalty oath to the tenets of race-based affirmative action programs.

Al, who typically leans left on things political, had voted against Proposition 209. He doesn't absolutely reject affirmative action, nor does he wholeheartedly embrace it; he has mixed feelings about it and said as much in his interview. It was his honest—and unacceptable—responses to those questions that cost him the job.

Sounds like a classic case of a state university attempting to suppress political speech. It has "ACLU" written all over it. So why didn't they take Al's case? As an ACLU staff attorney noted in a letter to Al, the need to scrimp on their "severely limited resources" put them in the "difficult situation" of having to reject him. (For what it's worth, at least they complimented him on his "strong sense of injustice" and wished him "the best of luck in resolving this issue.")

But how severely limited are the ACLU Southern California chapter's resources? This is the same chapter pouring inordinate amounts of money into challenging Proposition 209 on dubious legal grounds. How difficult was it for the group to reject Al's request for assistance when, quite coincidentally, the ACLU was working with the chancellor of UCLA and the director of the university's Academic Advancement Program—potential defendants in Al's lawsuit—to prepare for the Proposition 209 litigation?

Litigating civil liberties, properly defined, should not produce such conflicts. Had the ACLU concentrated on restraining government action to protect all individuals, it would not have wasted so much time and money on the losing side of Proposition 209. Nor would it have turned away Mr. Cardona, a poster boy for the cause of free speech.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

With Liberty and Justice for All
The chairman of the California Civil Rights Initiative, Ward Connerly, explains why he led the fight to eliminate affirmative action in the Golden State. (The Heritage Foundation 1996, 8 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #1200204

AMERICA'S NEWSPAPER

The Washington Times

Volume 4, No. 5 NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION $2.50 (U.S.)

Lindsey admits he knew Lippo hired Hubbell in '94

Photo by Kenneth Lambert/The Washington Times

Senate deposition contradicts White House claims

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Clinton's closest and most trusted adviser knew in 1994, contrary to White House claims, that the Lippo Group at the center of a growing campaign-finance scandal had put Webster L. Hubbell on its payroll after he quit the Justice Department in disgrace.

White House Deputy Counsel Bruce Lindsey told Senate investigators during a June 1996 deposition that he became aware of Hubbell's questionable ties to the multibillion-dollar Lippo empire in November 1994 but could not recall whether he knew that the ex-Justice official was being paid

The Truth. The Whole Truth.
Nothing But The Times.

Now you can see why *The Washington Times* has become the talk of the nation!
It takes the best of our award-winning daily news coverage and makes it available
to you every week —no matter where you live!

The Washington Times. It's the one that's driving Clinton, Bonior, Daschle, and Gephardt crazy! Why? Because it's the only daily newspaper in the nation with the courage to cover news honestly — without the liberal spin you always get in *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times.* And now our new NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION brings the best of it right to your door every week!

The Washington Times NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION!

Suscribe now for 1 or 2 years for as little as 87¢ per week.
You'll also receive *Capitol Contacts — absolutely free!**

Yes! Sign me up and save me a bundle with
The Washington Times National Weekly Edition.
And don't forget my Free copy of *Capitol Contacts*!

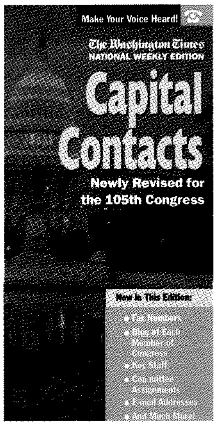
☐ 1 Year Only $59.95 ☐ 2 Years Only $89.95 ☐ 6 Months Only $34.95

CHOOSE PAYMENT METHOD: ☐ Visa ☐ Mastercard ☐ AMEX ☐ Discover
☐ Check/Money Order Enclosed ☐ Bill Me

SEND MY SUBSCRIPTION TO:
Name
Address
City
State Zip

SEND GIFT ORDER TO:
Name
Address
City
State Zip

Credit Card # Exp. Date
Signature Phone ( )



Remember, you pay their salaries! Don't be shy about telling your Senators and Congressman exactly what you want! Now you can with ***Capital Contacts*** —YOURS FREE with your one or two-year paid subscription to *The Washington Times NATIONAL WEEKLY EDITION.* This hefty, 190-page, spiral-bound guide puts the phone and fax numbers of every U.S. Senator, Congressman, government agency, and White House Cabinet member at your fingertips. This book shows you how it's done and provides proven inside tips for reaching your elected representatives!

* **Complimentary copy of *Capital Contacts*** available for 1 or 2-year paid subscribers only (while supplies last).

Make checks payable to: The Washington Times NWE Clip & Mail with payment to: P.O. Box 96601, Washington, DC 20090

For lightning-fast delivery, call 1-800-363-9118 (Mention express code: UHJOUK)

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Privatization

William Eggers & Adrian Moore

Eggers directs the Privatization Center, and Moore is the Associate Director of Economic Studies, at the Reason Foundation.

Creating the Right Institutions for Privatization

When it comes to privatization, one thing is certain: institutions matter. Nearly all successful privatization programs we have examined have put in place institutional structures and incentives to facilitate privatization.

Splitting the Purchaser from the Provider

A central problem with government organizations is "agency capture." This refers to the tendency of service departments to capture the policy advice process from policy makers and top managers, using this power to recommend themselves as service providers and to bias policy advice toward increasing the size of their budgets. One example: a housing authority recommending staff and budget increases in order to build and manage more government housing.

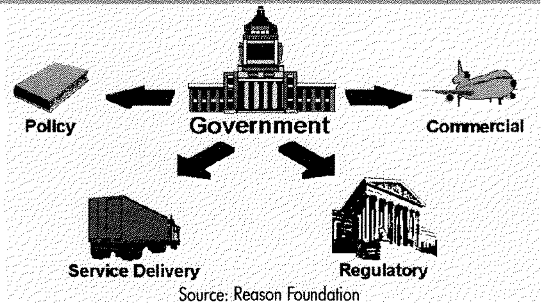
To counteract agency capture and facilitate privatization, governments in Australia, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand have separated policy and regulatory functions from service-delivery functions. Each of the functions has been transformed into separate and distinct organizations. (See figure.) The goal of this practice, termed "purchaser/provider split" or "uncoupling," is to free policy advisors to advance policy options—such as privatization—that are in the public's best interest but may be contrary to the self-interests of the departments. Splitting policy functions from service delivery creates incentives for governments to become more discriminating consumers by looking beyond government monopoly providers to a wide range of public and private providers.

Kansas has separated the purchaser and provider for its child welfare services. The state's role is now simply as a purchaser and monitor of services. In the state of Victoria in Australia, the government has separated policy and service-delivery functions in the corrections department. A separate entity called the Contract Administrator has been established to administer arms-length contracts with the private sector. The Contract Administrator is charged with purchasing correctional services and monitoring and evaluating the performance of private and public operators on a neutral basis. By doing so, the government is creating a "market" for correctional services.

Preparing Departments for Competition

In Arizona, former Governor Fife Symington developed an innovative and effective program to train public managers in implementing privatization projects and ensuring consistency between various branches of the state government. The Office of Excellence in Government created an extensive training program for managers and employees designed to teach them the basics of competitive contracting, such as determining in-house costs, writing RFPs, and so on. The directors of the state's 51 largest agencies have all received privatization training, as have hundreds of staffers and managers from the agencies.

Purchaser/Provider Split



Source: Reason Foundation

So far, 34 agencies have identified 60 competition projects, 12 of which have been deemed "high priority" by the budget office's competition group. Phase One proposals are so-called "low-hanging fruit," such as printing, copying, janitorial, and other support services. In anticipation of impending competition from private vendors, the state data center has already cut costs by 25 percent.

Generating Data to Evaluate Privatization Proposals

Virginia has established itself at the cutting-edge of privatization innovation with the development of the Cost Comparison Program (COMPETE), a fully automated, PC-operated decision-making tool. COMPETE provides several key pieces of information for evaluating a privatization proposal, including:

- the fully allocated cost of a state function or activity;
- the activity cost of service units of output in a state function;
- a competitively neutral cost comparison of operating a function in-house versus the private sector;
- steps needed to make a function internally competitive.

This information allows an agency to accurately compare alternative proposals, with an emphasis on fully allocated costs, and to set benchmarks for measuring the performance of a contract. A number of other states plan to emulate the Virginia model.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

The Politics of Privatization

Excerpted from *Privatization '96*, offers insights from Indianapolis mayor Stephen Goldsmith, New Jersey governor Christine Whitman, and Philadelphia mayor Ed Rendell. (Reason Foundation 1996, 7 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #6500403

What Should We Do about Global Warming?

Murray Weidenbaum

Murray Weidenbaum is chairman of the Center for the Study of American Business.

The most controversial regulatory issue facing the United States today is the proposal to fight global warming by substantially reducing emissions of carbon dioxide (CO_2), the leading greenhouse gas. Representatives of the United States and 150 other nations are scheduled to meet in Kyoto, Japan in December to sign a treaty requiring a rollback of CO_2 emissions to the 1990 level.

How serious is the problem that is supposed to require reducing production and employment in our key manufacturing industries? Proponents of quick action rely for support on a quotation from a 1995 report of the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC): "the balance of evidence suggests that there is a discernible human influence on global climate." That modest and vague statement is preceded by a caveat that is far less widely quoted: "Our ability to quantify the human influence on global climate is currently limited because . . . there are uncertainties in key factors." The report goes on to tell about those technical uncertainties.

Knowledgeable scientists, including those who advocate tough action, admit that great uncertainty exists in the chain of causation from emissions of CO_2 by human activities to the creation of greenhouse gases to increases in global temperature. For example, climate changes due to natural causes likely swamp the human influences. Clearly, global climate analysis is not a simple matter.

Climate changes due to natural causes likely swamp the human influences.

In this century, the bulk of the modest warming that has occurred preceded the bulk of the buildup of the greenhouse gases (logic would lead us to expect that the sequence would be the other way around). Moreover, weather satellites show a mild cooling trend since 1979. Thus, it is not surprising that, when the scientific contributors to the IPCC report were surveyed, about half did not support the policy makers' summary.

Let us consider the implications of the most popular proposal to address global climate change: a special tax to force CO_2 emissions back to the 1990 level. Many public and private organizations have analyzed the likely impacts on the American economy. Most of them conclude that a carbon tax sufficient to roll back emissions to 1990 levels would slow down wage growth, worsen the distribution of income, and make Americans feel as if they were reliving the oil price shocks of the 1970s and early 1980s.

The major energy-using sectors would be hardest hit: petroleum refining, chemicals, paper, cement, steel, and aluminum. Electric utilities—most of which use fossil fuel—would be most directly affected. Because they serve virtually every part of society, the results of a cutback in CO_2 emissions would be pervasive.

Government policy makers should not adopt a stiff CO_2 tax just to show that they care about the environment.

When we examine the details of the UN proposal, we find a most worrisome loophole. Those CO_2 "caps" would be limited to the industrialized nations. Developing countries will not be subject to limits on their fossil fuel usage for the foreseeable future. That ignores the obvious: global climate change is a *global* problem.

It will be futile to try to stop global warming by curbing our energy use if the developing nations will more than offset our costly contribution to a better global climate. That is exactly the prospect we face. In the next dozen years, China and India alone are expected to experience greater growth in emissions than the United States, Japan, and Western Europe combined.

In view of the serious economic impacts of a CO_2 tax on American industrial production and employment, it is advisable to consider alternative responses to the issue of global climate change. The cleanest and most environmentally benign fuel is nuclear power. Surely, dealing with the most publicized obstacle to building new nuclear power plants—the location of spent fuel in secure bunkers—is a technological challenge that scientists and engineers are capable of solving. Indeed, some believe they have already done so.

Government policy makers should not adopt a stiff CO_2 tax just to show that they care about the environment. We all do. But the heart is not a thinking instrument.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Myths of Global Warming
Most scientists don't believe that human activity is causing a global temperature increase and satellite data show no evidence of warming for the last 18 years. (National Center for Policy Analysis 1997, 2 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #2328312

The Bottom Line on the Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997

Stephen Gold

Stephen Gold is associate director and director of communications of the Tax Foundation.

After netting out the tax cuts and tax hikes, the major tax bill enacted prior to Congress' August recess translates into a total savings of $764 for the average individual income tax filer over the next five years, according to a Tax Foundation analysis. The new law will add an average of $452 to tax bills while subtracting an average of $1,216. Roughly 80 percent of the average filer's tax cut—or $998 of the $1,216—will come from the per-child tax credit and the education tax incentives.

But who benefits most from this legislation?

Starting with the retroactive provisions of the tax bill and looking forward until fiscal 2002, the vast majority of tax filers will see their taxes lowered. Those earning between $35,000 and $100,000 will see the greatest tax relief, with total five-year savings of between $1,200 and $1,400. Only those earning over $100,000 will see a tax increase during this period. The reason: The tax incentives for rearing children and for putting them through college are phased out at the upper income levels. Needless to say, the tax increases are not: tax filers in top income brackets will feel the full effects, directly and indirectly, of the various tax hikes.

As for the impact on states, the new bill—with its focus on families with children and its income-based caps on tax relief—creates a disproportionate distribution of tax cuts. Due to the income-based ceilings on the largest provisions in the tax bill, less-affluent states with greater populations of children will see a proportionately greater portion of federal tax relief over the next five years. (Over a 10-year period, however, this progressivity is mitigated in many states as estate tax reform and capital gains provisions begin to take full effect.)

As a result of the bill's disparate impact on states, while California, Texas, and New York—with the greatest populations—will claim the largest total tax relief over the next five years, they will not see the most tax relief per filer.

As the accompanying table shows, tax filers in Utah should see the greatest tax relief, with an average of $958 in tax cuts. Idaho filers will average $899 in relief, second highest in the nation. The District of Columbia, though not a state, is also a big winner. The provisions in the legislation that attempt to ease the city's severe fiscal problems are projected to save the average filer in D.C. $2,764 over five years.

On the other hand, more affluent states are hit with the child-credit and education-credit phase-outs, and thus will not reap the same rewards as other states. Alaska, for example, will average only $551 in tax cuts per filer, while Connecticut will average $634. Due to the phase-out provisions, the number of children eligible for the tax credits is higher in states such as Utah and Idaho than in states such as Alaska and Connecticut.

Impact of Taxpayer Relief Act of 1997

		Percentage of Dependents Eligible for	
	Five-Year Net Savings Per Filer	Child Credit	Education Assistance
United States	$764	95.6%	94.4%
Alabama	797	97.1	96.2
Alaska	551	94.0	92.8
Arizona	827	96.5	95.4
Arkansas	815	97.6	96.8
California	797	94.9	93.4
Colorado	731	95.2	94.0
Connecticut	634	91.5	90.0
Delaware	723	95.2	94.1
District of Columbia	2,764	93.8	92.0
Florida	753	95.8	94.6
Georgia	748	95.7	94.6
Hawaii	754	95.6	94.6
Idaho	899	97.1	96.4
Illinois	751	94.8	93.6
Indiana	770	96.7	95.9
Iowa	823	97.2	96.6
Kansas	819	96.3	95.5
Kentucky	748	97.1	96.3
Louisiana	824	97.0	96.0
Maine	769	97.3	96.6
Maryland	713	93.7	92.3
Massachusetts	668	93.8	92.5
Michigan	756	95.7	94.7
Minnesota	758	95.5	94.6
Mississippi	820	97.9	97.1
Missouri	766	96.5	95.6
Montana	827	97.5	96.8
Nebraska	816	97.0	96.2
Nevada	732	96.1	95.2
New Hampshire	707	95.4	94.5
New Jersey	680	92.2	90.6
New Mexico	834	97.3	96.4
New York	698	94.1	92.8
North Carolina	738	96.6	95.7
North Dakota	840	97.3	96.6
Ohio	716	96.6	95.7
Oklahoma	817	97.4	96.6
Oregon	790	96.3	95.4
Pennsylvania	746	95.9	94.9
Rhode Island	713	95.8	94.8
South Carolina	766	97.2	96.3
South Dakota	822	97.4	96.7
Tennessee	745	96.6	95.6
Texas	815	96.0	94.7
Utah	958	96.3	95.6
Vermont	741	96.7	95.9
Virginia	713	94.5	93.2
Washington	779	95.7	94.7
West Virginia	804	97.7	97.1
Wisconsin	770	96.5	95.7
Wyoming	816	97.1	96.4

Source: *Tax Foundation*

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Original Intent and the Income Tax
If the income tax rates of 1913 were inflation-adjusted, we would see no tax on incomes of $45,000 for singles, and $60,000 for married couples. (American Institute for Economic Research 1997, 2 pp.)

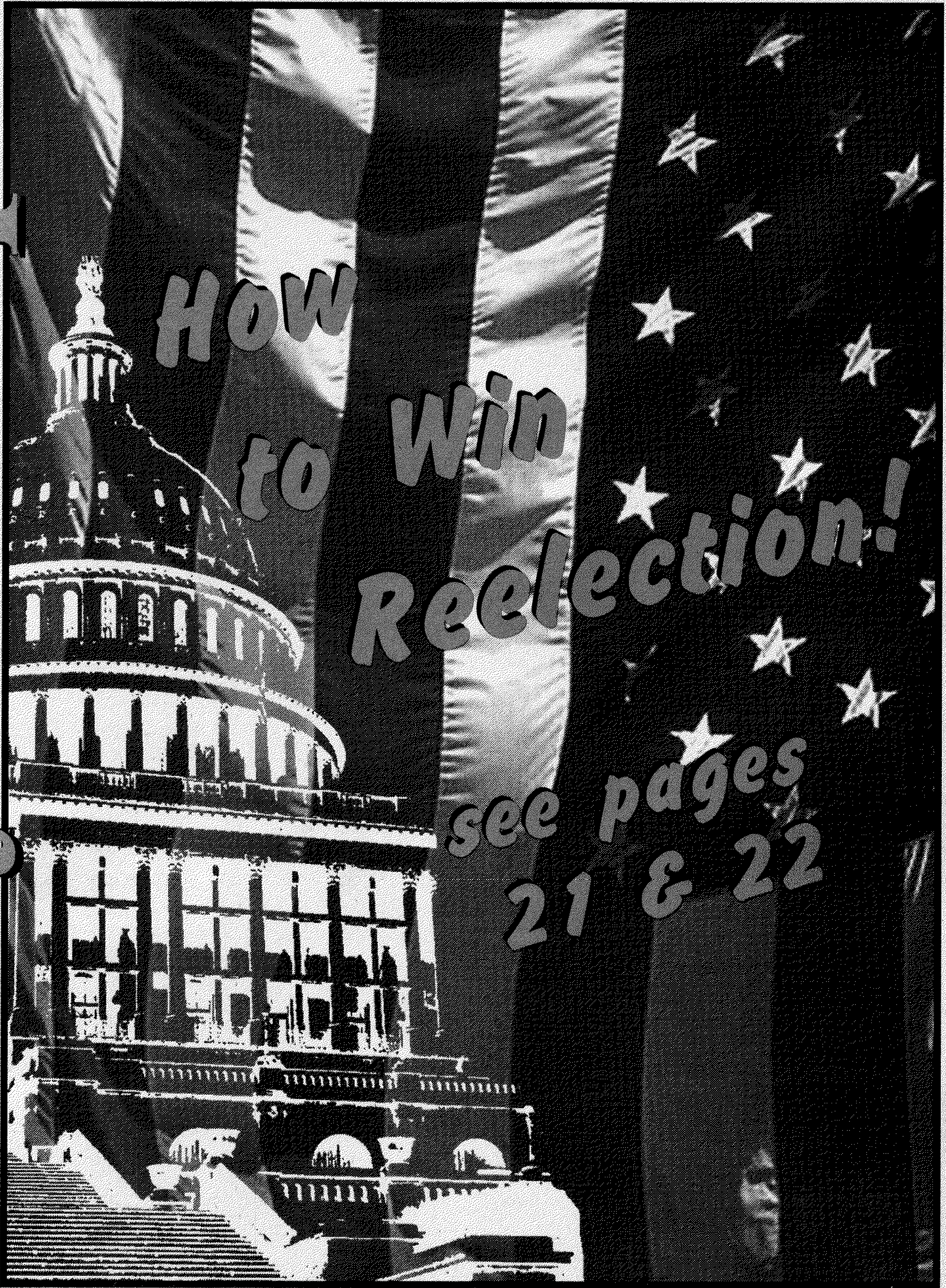
Call 847/202-4888
Request document #8036123

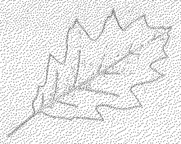
PolicyFax Update

Guide to Public Policy

November/December 1997

Write Your *PolicyFax* Account Number Here:


How to Win Reelection!
see pages 21 & 22



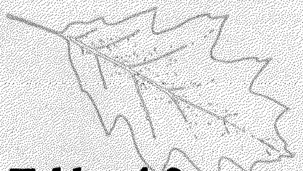
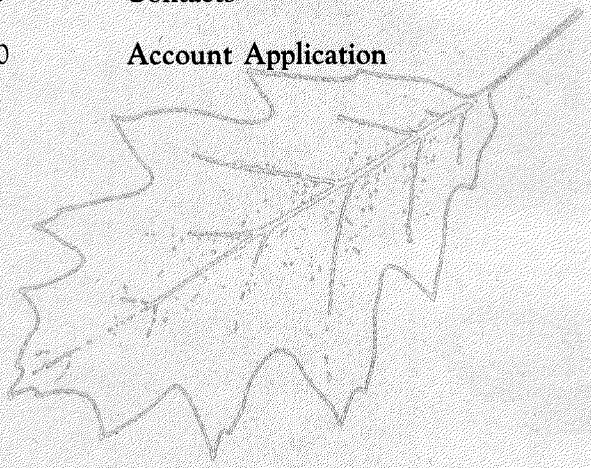


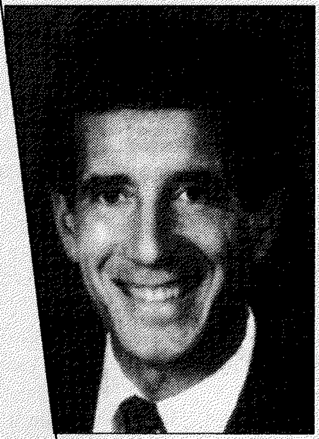
Table of Contents

- 3 **Budget**
- 3 **Civil Rights**
- 4 **Crime**
  - 4 Medicinal Marijuana
- 5 **Economic Development**
  - 5 International Trade
- 6 **Education**
  - 6 Bilingual Education
  - 7 Charter Schools
  - 7 In Congress
  - 8 In the States
  - 9 School to Work
  - 9 Statistics
  - 9 Teachers
- 10 **Employment**
  - 10 Unionism
  - 10 Right to Work
- 11 **Environment**
  - 12 Air Quality
  - 13 Global Warming
  - 14 International Treaties
  - 14 Land Use Regulation
  - 15 Parks
  - 15 Sound Science
  - 16 Tobacco
- 16 **Family/Culture**
- 17 **Governing**
- 18 **Health Care**
- 20 **Law**
- 21 **Politics**
  - 22 Campaign Finance Reform
  - 22 Technology
- 23 **Privatization**
- 23 **Regulation**
  - 24 Electricity Deregulation
  - 24 Antitrust
- 25 **Taxes**
  - 26 Social Security Reform
- 27 **Transportation**
  - 27 Mass Transit
- 28 **Welfare/Housing**
- 29 **Contacts**
- 30 **Account Application**



Welcome to PolicyFax

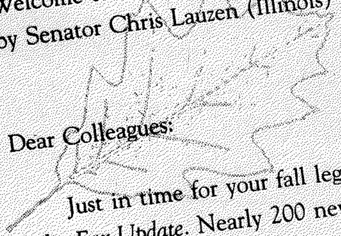
call 847.202.4888



Sen. Chris Lauzen

Welcome to *PolicyFax* Update

by Senator Chris Lauzen (Illinois)



Dear Colleagues:

Just in time for your fall legislative sessions, here's the November/December issue of *PolicyFax Update*. Nearly 200 new documents, on topics as wide ranging as welfare reform and electric utility deregulation, are summarized in this issue.

Your touch-tone telephone and fax machine give you instant access to these documents—and thousands more—through *PolicyFax*, The Heartland Institute's fax-on-demand research service.* *PolicyFax* is available 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

Between January and August 1997, *PolicyFax* delivered over 6,200 documents to 2,775 callers. ***Over 70 percent of those callers were state policy makers!*** *PolicyFax* documents are ***free*** to elected officials (as well as to journalists) who use their *PolicyFax* account numbers.

Check the back cover of this magazine for your eight-digit PolicyFax account number. If no number appears on the back cover, complete the form on page 31 of this insert and fax it to 847/202-9799.

We're just two short months away from the opening of our 1998 legislative sessions. Are you as prepared as you'd like to be? *PolicyFax* can help! I can assure you—you'll never find a more comprehensive, user-friendly public policy library. It delivers the information you want, when you want it . . . and all you need is a touch-tone telephone and a fax machine.

While you're thinking about it, review this *PolicyFax Update* and highlight the documents you'll need to prepare yourself for the coming session. There's no limit on the number of documents you can request—some of your colleagues have been known to order ten or twenty ***in one day***! Just call 847/202-4888 and follow the recorded instructions. Or see page 2 of this *PolicyFax Update*. You'll be glad you did.

Sincerely,

Chris Lauzen

Chris Lauzen
Chairman, *PolicyFax* Advisory Committee

*The Heartland Institute is a nonprofit, nonpartisan public policy research organization. For a free copy of the 1997 catalog reviewing some 3,000 documents available from *PolicyFax*, call 847/202-3060, or visit Heartland's Web site at http://www.heartland.org.

Using PolicyFax

call 847.202.4888

What Is PolicyFax?

PolicyFax is the place to turn when you need public policy information *now*. Over 4,000 documents from the hottest think tanks and publications are available by fax, instantly, twenty-four hours a day and seven days a week. Just call **847/202-4888** and follow the recorded instructions.

How to Use PolicyFax

You don't need a computer to use **PolicyFax.** To have a document sent instantly to your fax machine, follow these steps:

1. Dial **847/202-4888** from a touch-tone phone and listen for the greeting.
2. Press "1" if you are an elected official or journalist. Press "2" if you are not.
3. Follow the voice prompts to place an order using your *PolicyFax* account number or credit card.
4. Follow the voice prompts to enter the seven-digit number for the document you wish to order. Wait for the prompt, then enter the number for the next document you wish to order. You may order up to three documents in a single call.
5. When prompted, enter your fax number, or press "1" to confirm your fax number.
6. Hang up. Your documents will be faxed to you in a few minutes.

PolicyFax Is Free for Elected Officials and the Media

If you are an elected official, journalist, talk show host, or think tank representative, you can have *PolicyFax* documents sent for free, if you have a *PolicyFax* account.

Check the back cover of this magazine. If the mailing label includes an eight-digit *PolicyFax* number, you already have a *PolicyFax* account and do not need to apply for one.

If no *PolicyFax* number appears there, call The Heartland Institute at 847/202-3060 and a staff member will look up your number for you. Or you can have an account application faxed to you by calling *PolicyFax* (**847/202-4888**). Press "1" if you are an elected official or journalist, otherwise press "2". Follow the voice prompts to have an account application faxed to you. The recorded message will ask for your fax number. The form will be faxed to you in a few minutes.

There is no charge to open a *PolicyFax* account.

For Other Users, PolicyFax Documents Cost $5 Each

If you are not an elected official, journalist, or talk show host, you can still use *PolicyFax*, but there will be a $5 charge for each document you order.

Call *PolicyFax* (**847/202-4888**) and press "2" at the prompt. At the next prompt, you can choose to charge your document request to a credit card by pressing "1."

If you expect to use *PolicyFax* often, you may wish to open a *PolicyFax* account. Complete the form on page 21 of this update.

Fax your completed application to The Heartland Institute at 847/202-9799, or mail it to The Heartland Institute, 800 East Northwest Highway #1080, Palatine, IL 60067. When we receive your completed application form, we'll assign you a *PolicyFax* account number and send you a "welcome" package.

Don't Have a Fax Machine?

You can also get the documents summarized in this *PolicyFax Update* by mail. The cost of fulfilling such requests, however, prevents us from offering documents by mail to legislators and journalists for free.

Documents by mail are $5 each, regardless of length. Requests must be prepaid by check or credit card and will be fulfilled within one week.

Send your request by fax to 847/202-9799; by mail to The Heartland Institute, 800 East Northwest Highway #1080, Palatine, IL 60067; or by e-mail to think@heartland.org. Be sure to include payment information with your request.

The Heartland INSTITUTE

PolicyFax is a service of The Heartland Institute, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research organization that applies cutting-edge research to state and national public policy problems. Since 1984, Heartland researchers have addressed a wide range of issues, including the environment, education reform, taxes, and deregulation.

Through books, policy studies, and short opinion pieces, as well as through *PolicyFax* and the institute's bimonthly magazine, *Intellectual Ammunition*, Heartland strives to be an indispensable source of public policy information for the nation's elected officials, the media, and public policy researchers.

For more information about The Heartland Institute, please call us at 847/202-3060 or e-mail us at think@heartland.org. Alternatively, visit our World Wide Web site at **http://www.heartland.org**.

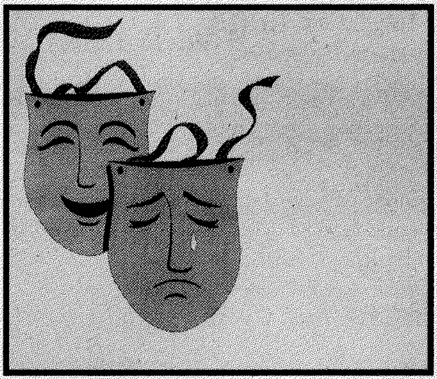
Budget

Ten Good Reasons to Eliminate Funding for the National Endowment for the Arts

by Laurence Jarvik Ph.D.

The government has a poor record of "picking winners" with its subsidies and tax breaks to industry. So why do we imagine that the National Endowment for the Arts—a government agency, after all—will be any more successful in its efforts to assist "deserving" arts? In fact, the agency's bureaucratic meddling acts only to promote mediocrity, not to encourage or reward talent.

Backgrounder, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#0800412 (14 pp.)



Civil Rights

Citizenship on the Cheap

by John J. Miller

The citizenship naturalization process is on its way to becoming a political football: While Republicans are concerned about growing numbers of immigrants and the burden they impose on public services, the Clinton administration is pressing to lower standards for citizenship in the hope of increasing Democratic voting strength.

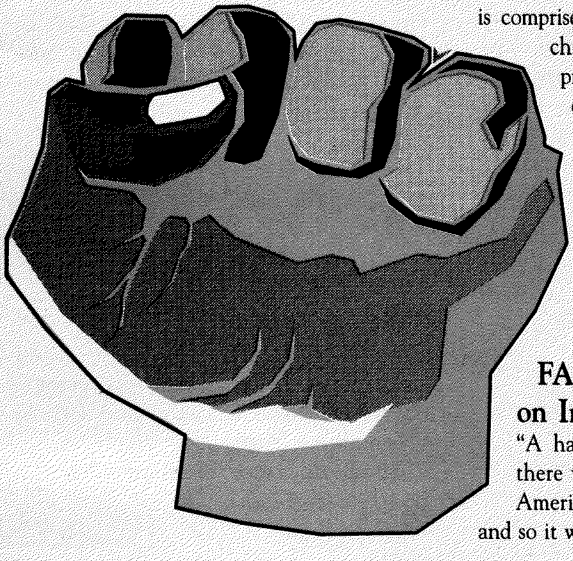
Organization Trends, June 1997
Capital Research Center
#1213101 (7 pp.)

Immigration and American Politics

by Peter Brimelow, Ed Rubenstein, George Borjas, et al.

Six articles and accompanying sidebars outline a future in which one-third of the U.S. population is comprised of immigrants and their children. Diluting American principles and straining the economy, the immigration changes of 1965 are overdue for reform as proposed by the Jordan commission.

National Review, June 1997
#1233415 (12 pp.)



FAIR Documents on Immigration

"A half century from now . . . there will be no majority race in America." So says the President, and so it will be if confused and ineffective administration of immigration laws continue. With illegal immigrant votes affecting the outcome of elections and welfare grandparents brought in for the dole, it is time for the Clinton administration to follow its own recommendations and produce verifiable work authorizations to break the cycle of illegal immigration.

Factsheets, 1997
The Federation for American Immigration Reform
#1233506 President Clinton on Race, Ethnicity & Immigration (2 pp.)
#1233507 The Never-Ending Story of Central Americans Who Came Temporarily (2 pp.)
#1233508 Summary of HR 347: The Immigration Moratorium Act (2 pp.)
#1233509 Anti-Terrorism (2 pp.)
#1233510 Immigrant Children in U.S. Public Schools (2 pp.)
#1233511 Section 245i: Rewarding Illegal Aliens (3 pp.)
#1233512 An Unfinished Agenda: Key Immigration Reform Items Left Undone (4 pp.)
#1233513 The Bicentennial of Malthus' Original Population Essay is Here (1 p.)
#1233514 The Congressional Failure to Cut Legal Immigration (2 pp.)
#1233515 Senator Abraham's Subcommittee Leadership: A Scorecard on His Progress (4 pp.)
#1233516 Another Illegal Alien Amnesty Program? (2 pp.)
#1233517 Summary of HR 7: The Citizenship Reform Act of 1997 (1 p.)
#1233518 Summary of HR 231: Protecting the Integrity of the Social Security Card (1 p.)
#1233519 The Clinton Record on Immigration (2 pp.)
#1233201 Testimony of Dan Stein, Executive Director of FAIR (6 pp.)

Mugged by Reality

by Eugene H. Methvin

After decades of study, the causes and cures of crime are no longer a mystery. Early identification of the potential repeat offender, early intervention, and consistent and escalating punishments are crucial—and an economic bargain as well.

Policy Review, July/August 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#1300415 (7 pp.)

Trends in Juvenile Violence: A Report to the United States Attorney General on Current and Future Rates of Juvenile Offending

by James Alan Fox Ph.D.

Males aged 14 to 17 constitute a growing number of the nation's violent offenders. By 2005, even if the per-capita murder rate among this group remains unchanged, almost 5,000 murders will be committed by teens every year.

Report, March 1996
Bureau of Justice Statistics
#1340301 (executive summary, 2 pp.)
#1340401 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#1340402 (part 2, 9 pp.)

Hard Time for Armed Crime

by R. David LaCourse Jr.

Washington State's "hard time" law—which mandates increased sentences for armed crimes—targets criminals who use deadly weapons to commit crimes, criminals who steal weapons, and convicted serious felons who illegally arm themselves. Two years after its enactment, the program appears to be a success. However, four emerging issues indicate some fine tuning of the law is required. Policy makers need to address such questions as whether the "deadly weapon enhancements" imposed by hard time should be served consecutively or concurrently.

Report, July 1997
Washington Institute for Policy Studies
#1377301 (news release, 1 p.)
#1377406 (17 pp.)

The End of the Prison Boom

by Penelope Lemov

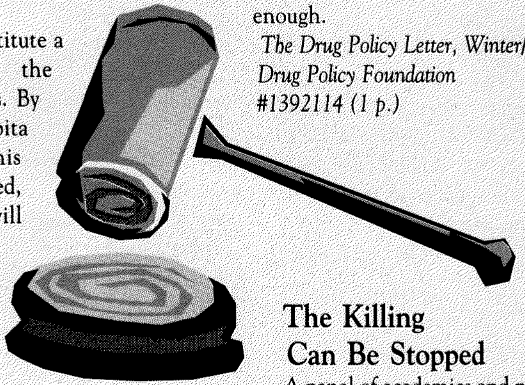
After a long period of booming prison construction, state and local governments have scaled back their plans for new facilities. Various "three strikes" and mandatory sentencing laws have not produced the increase in prisoners originally predicted.

Governing, August 1997
Congressional Quarterly Inc.
#1375101 (2 pp.)

"Monitoring the Future" Study Charts Increasing Drug Use

Illicit drug use among teenagers has been escalating during the past five years, despite prevention programs aimed at that audience. Apparently, "just say no" is just not enough.

The Drug Policy Letter, Winter/Spring 1997
Drug Policy Foundation
#1392114 (1 p.)



The Killing Can Be Stopped

A panel of academics and policy experts was convened in 1992, following the killing of seven-year-old Dantrell Davis at the Cabrini-Green housing project in Chicago, by The Heartland Institute to arrive at recommendations for reducing urban violence. The panel's report, available through *PolicyFax* in five parts, blames public policies in the areas of housing, education, drugs, welfare, and taxes for creating the conditions that led to Davis' killing. Law professor Daniel Polsby, for example, writes that "the War on Drugs put the rifle in the hands of the man who killed Dantrell Davis. To talk about ways to 'stop the killing' without also talking about ending the War on Drugs is unproductive and dishonest."

Policy Study, 1992
The Heartland Institute
#1300301 (executive summary, 4 pp.)
#1392401 (drugs, guns, and crime, 8 pp.)
#2166402 (school reform, 10 pp.)
#9272401 (welfare reform, 8 pp.)
#9272402 (taxes, jobs, and the inner city, 9 pp.)
#9232404 (housing, 10 pp.)

Medicinal Marijuana

Arizona's New Approach

by Marvin S. Cohen

Arizona's Proposition 200 isn't as much about drug legalization as it is about growing voter awareness that the drug war is failing, and that too much law enforcement effort is being diverted to it.

The Drug Policy Letter, Winter/Spring 1997
Drug Policy Foundation
#3250101 (2 pp.)

Prop 215 Test Case: Round II

by Rufus King

California attorneys supporting Proposition 215, which passed in November 1996 and legalized medicinal uses of marijuana, defended the proposal only on narrow First Amendment grounds. As a result, dissenters have initiated a suit in the District of Columbia that could lead to fast-track consideration by the U.S. Supreme Court.

The Drug Policy Letter, Winter/Spring 1997
Drug Policy Foundation
#3250103 (2 pp.)

A Prop 215 Reality Check

by Dave Fratello

Opponents of medicinal cannabis claim to have been sand-bagged by a deceitful campaign. But in fact, the anti-drug establishment had most of the muscle in this David and Goliath story.

The Drug Policy Letter, Winter/Spring 1997
Drug Policy Foundation
#3250102 (4 pp.)

Federal Foolishness & Marijuana

by Jerome P. Kassirer M.D.

In its refusal to acknowledge the medicinal uses of marijuana, the federal government is out of step with both public opinion and sensible medicine.

The Drug Policy Letter, Winter/Spring 1997
Drug Policy Foundation
#3250104 (1 p.)

Economic Development

The Role of Government: Promoting Development or Getting Out of the Way

by Doug Bandow

The notion of government as promoter of economic growth has proved a disaster for the developing world. Little has changed since America was founded over 200 years ago: Freedom—not government planning—remains the prerequisite to a successful economy.

Research Reports, August 1997
American Institute for Economic Research
#1900113 (4 pp.)

Economic Impact of America's Car Companies

The U.S. auto industry is America's largest manufacturing industry. Despite the recent growth of transplant manufacturer facilities, America's big three automakers still account for nine out of ten jobs directly related to car and truck production in the U.S. This set of factsheets presents employment, exports, sales and market share, and purchase/investment data on America's car companies: Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors.

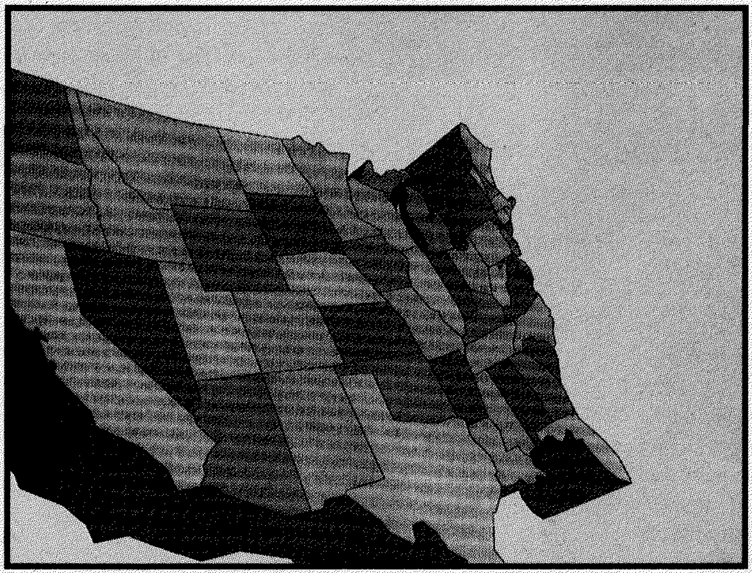
Factsheets, April 1997
American Automobile Manufacturers Association
#1900409 (8 pp.)

Job Creation and Government Policy

by Jerry L. Jordan

Jordan, president and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland, offers a clear and persuasive debunking of the myth that governments can create jobs. "Before [economist John Maynard] Keynes," writes Jordan, "the notion of job creation as an objective of government would have seemed absurd." Because policy makers have no way of predicting where job growth will or "should" occur, the job-creating policies they attempt to put in place are destined to have unintended, negative consequences. The principal role for government to play in the job-creating realm, he notes, is a protective one: protect private property, and protect free personal choice and free exchange among buyers and sellers.

Jobs & Capital, Summer 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#2228101 (5 pp.)



International Trade

A User's Guide to Economic Sanctions

by Robert P. O'Quinn

Economic sanctions are high-cost, low-success foreign policy options, but recently their use has increased. America needs to develop a policy for the application of economic sanctions that maximizes their positive effects and minimizes injuries to third parties.

Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#1981401 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#1981402 (part 2, 11 pp.)

NAFTA's Three-Year Report Card: An "A" for North America's Economy

by John Sweeney

Though candidate Ross Perot warned that NAFTA would encourage U.S. employment, particularly in the manufacturing sector, to head south, three years' experience with the treaty suggests otherwise. U.S. unemployment fell 5.3 percent over the period, while exports to Mexico increased by 37 percent.

Backgrounder, May 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#1980434 (6 pp.)

Economic Growth and Free Trade Are Not Dirty Words

by Laura Jones

Green activists claim that the free market is inherently anti-environment. But the greater wealth of free economies leads to *improved* environmental quality. This is true because, in wealthy countries, citizens are more likely to demand a clean environment . . . and their industries are more likely to have the technical ability to achieve it.

Fraser Forum, June 1997
The Fraser Institute
#1980124 (2 pp.)

Trading Thoughts

by Tanweer Akram

A review of Douglas Irwin's book, *Against the Tide*, which Akram finds particularly useful for its cataloging of the arguments that have been used—and recycled in many guises—against free trade over the last three centuries.

Research Reports, August 1997
American Institute for Economic Research
#1980125 (4 pp.)

Why True Reform of Schools is So Unlikely

by Eric A. Hanushek

Since 1960, pupil-teacher ratios in the public schools have fallen by a third, teachers have better credentials, and per-student spending has tripled . . . yet student performance has declined. Why have 30-plus years of "reform" failed?

Jobs & Capital, Winter 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#2100415 (5 pp.)

Why Catholic Schools Spell Success for America's Inner-City Children

by Nina H. Shokraii

Research over many decades has shown that parochial schools are more successful than public schools at educating inner-city children. School choice initiatives that include parochial schools offer students the best opportunity to escape from failing public schools.

Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2165412 (12 pp.)

29th Annual PDK/Gallup Poll

The Gallup Institute's 29th annual Poll of the Public's Attitudes Towards the Public Schools surveyed 1,517 adults, including 1,017 parents of public school children, and found that school vouchers—using tax money to send students to private and parochial schools—are supported by a majority of parents with children in public schools. Support among blacks jumped 20 percentage points between 1996 and 1997; today, 62 percent of blacks surveyed support vouchers. The poll, conducted for Phi Delta Kappa International, reports that *opposition* to vouchers is strongest among older Americans, those living in the West, those earning more than $50,000 a year, and suburbanites.

Poll, August 1997
Phi Delta Kappan/Gallup
#2150301 (introduction, 3 pp.)
#2150302 (improving the public schools, 8 pp.)
#2150303 (biggest problems facing local schools, 2 pp.)
#2150304 (grading the schools, 3 pp.)
#2150305 (public versus nonpublic schools, 6 pp.)
#2150306 (parents and public schools, 5 pp.)
#2150307 (the curriculum, 5 pp.)
#2150308 (drugs and weapons in school, 2 pp.)
#2150309 (financing public schools, 2 pp.)
#2150310 (methodology, 6 pp.)

Bilingual Education

Bilingual Education: A Failed Experiment on the Children

by Sheldon Richman

One of the more odious social experiments in the public schools has been bilingual education. Ostensibly aimed at assisting immigrant children in acquiring English language skills, the actual effect of bilingual programs is to ghettoize minority groups and reduce their chances of academic success. Ironically, most children forced into these programs already use English as their primary language, but their mastery of English and ability to learn other subjects is stunted by bilingual programs.

Issue Paper, May 1997
Independence Institute
#2113412 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#2113413 (part 2, 15 pp.)

The Importance of Learning English: A National Survey of Hispanic Parents

In September 1996, the Center for Equal Opportunity polled a random sample of 600 Hispanic parents in five major cities, finding that almost two-thirds (63 percent) want their children taught in English as soon as possible. More than 80 percent reported that they wanted their children's academic courses to be taught in English, not Spanish. The results are in stark contrast to claims made by proponents of bilingual education programs.

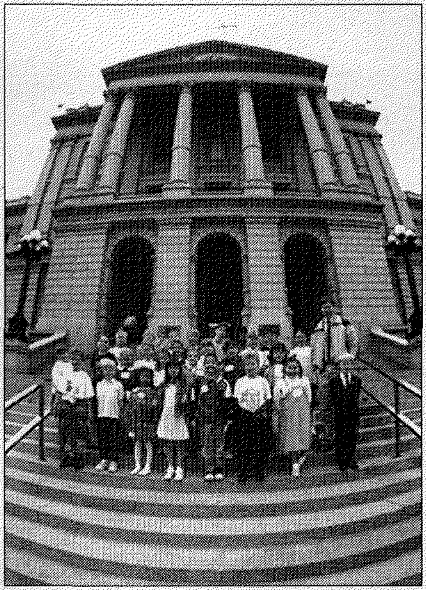
Survey, September 1996
Center for Equal Opportunity
#2113416 (16 pp.)

Improving Schooling for Language Minority Children: A Research Agenda

by Charles L. Glenn

This report, published by the Amherst, Massachusetts-based READ (Research in English Acquisition and Development) Institute, reviews the findings of a recent National Research Council (NRC) study on bilingual education research. According to the NRC study, over $100 million has been spent over the last thirty years to study bilingual education. The research literature on bilingual education points to the following conclusions: that we do not know whether native language teaching is helping or hurting limited-English students; that teaching children to read in English first, and not in their native language, does *not* have negative consequences for their academic achievement; that emphasizing ethnic differences in the classroom is counterproductive and does not lead to better self-esteem among language minority children; and that teachers who are members of minority groups are no more effective than non-minority teachers at educating minority children.

Report, May 1997
READ Institute
#2113414 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#2113415 (part 2, 13 pp.)



Charter Schools

Charter Schools as Seen by Those Who Know Them Best: Students, Teachers, and Parents

by Gregg Vanourek, Bruno V. Manno, Chester E. Finn Jr., and Louann A. Bierlein

Though it is not yet possible to evaluate charter schools on test score data, other measures show them to be highly successful. This study of fifty charter schools in ten states shows high satisfaction on the part of all participants. On average, minority students comprised 50 percent of the population of the charter schools studied.

Report, June 1997
Hudson Institute
#2111412 (12 pp.)

Charter Schools Are a Breath of Fresh Air

by Randy Kaplan

Opponents of charter schools have blamed the reform for a recent incident in which a teacher got into trouble with the law. But charter schools, which are subject to market forces, can more effectively curb abuses than can public schools.

Perspective, May 1997
Goldwater Institute
#2111111 (2 pp.)

In Congress

Time to Change Federal Government's Role in Education

by Dr. Herbert Walberg

Members of Congress were recently reminded by Dr. Walberg, research professor of education and psychology at the University of Illinois at Chicago, that U.S. taxpayers have spent more than $100 billion on Title I, special education, and bilingual programs that do not help and even harm some children. Instead of continuing to support "a nightmare of educational bureaucracy and hosts of special pleaders," Congress was told, it ought to "give money—not to bureaucrats and to special interests, but to families in the form of grants or vouchers."

Testimony, July 1997
The Heartland Institute
#2100201 (5 pp.)

Two Cheers for S.1: The Safe and Affordable Schools Act of 1997

by Nina H. Shokraii and John S. Barry

Targeting dangerous schools, this plan's voucher provisions would allow students to escape from the status quo. Unfortunately, the plan also incorporates provisions that allow the federal government to dictate local crime-fighting initiatives.

Issue Bulletin, May 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2181401 (17 pp.)

How Congress Can Help Poor Children Learn in DC Schools

by Nina H. Shokraii

Forty percent of school-age children in the District of Columbia drop out or leave the system before graduating. The D.C. Student Opportunity Act would give nearly 2,000 children another chance, allowing them to attend the public, private, or religious school of their parents' choice.

Executive Memorandum, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2184143 (2 pp.)

District of Columbia Student Opportunity Scholarship Act

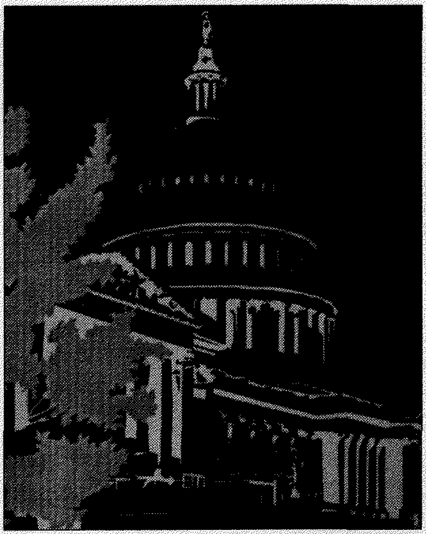
To begin to address the problems of the District of Columbia public schools—which are unsafe and academically unsound—a bipartisan group of legislators has introduced the D.C. Student Opportunity Act, which provides scholarship money for some 2,000 low-income children.

Bill, 1997
U.S. Congress
#2184615 (10 pp.)

Family Education Freedom Act of 1997

Introduced on June 5, 1997 by Congressman Ron Paul (R-Texas), this bill would amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 to allow individuals a credit against their income taxes for tuition and related expenses at public and non-public elementary and secondary schools.

Bill, 1997
U.S. Congress
#2184616 (4 pp.)



In the States

School Choice Programs: What's Happening in the States

by Nina H. Shokraii and Dorothy Hanks

In 1996, government spending on schools reached $300 billion—yet math and science scores fell. This "disconnect" between spending and student achievement is just one of the reasons that opponents of school choice are finding it difficult to stem the rising tide of state reform.

FYI, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2184144 (5 pp.)

Tuition Tax Credits: Free At Last!

by Jeffry L. Flake

Arizona's new tuition tax credit law allows tax credits for donations made to public schools. Union leaders who oppose the law have thus had a difficult time convincing rank-and-file public school teachers to fight the law.

Perspective, June 1997
Goldwater Institute
#2184145 (2 pp.)

The Case for School Choice: Raymond, Maine

In a case that could set an important precedent for state education programs that discriminate against religious schools, the Washington, DC-based Institute for Justice has filed a lawsuit challenging the exclusion of religious schools from the State of Maine's rural school choice program. The suit, *Bagley v. Town of Raymond,* challenges the town's refusal to allow student Aaron Bagley to attend a Catholic high school under the state's 94-year-old tuitioning program.

Litigation Backgrounder, 1997
Institute for Justice
#2184809 (7 pp.)

New Hampshire Governor's Veto of SB 202

by Governor Jeanne Shaheen

A far-reaching school reform bill, which would have raised academic standards, improved student discipline, and required teacher testing, passed both houses of the New Hampshire legislature but was vetoed by Governor Jeanne Shaheen in June. She explains why in a three-page veto message available through *PolicyFax.*

Veto Message, June 1997
State of New Hampshire
#2180608 (3 pp.)

Ohio Education Report

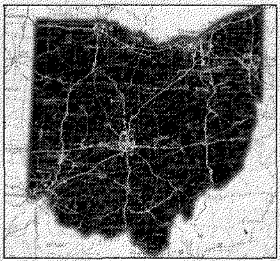
Despite the very weak link between funding and results, the Ohio Supreme Court has deemed the state's current method of school financing unconstitutional. This newsletter from the Dayton-based Buckeye Institute encourages legislators to take the opportunity presented by the Court to go beyond mere funding reform. Now is the time to introduce such promising market-oriented changes as vouchers and parental choice.

Newsletter, Spring 1997
The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions
#2177408 (8 pp.)

Cleveland Schools Profit from Scholarship Program

Opponents of school choice claim that voucher programs will divert money from public schools. But in Cleveland, the public schools are subsidized for students they no longer teach. The schools actually realize a *profit* of some $118,000 from the voucher program.

Policy Note, June 1997
The Buckeye Institute
for Public Policy Solutions
#2184142 (2 pp.)



Test Scores from the Cleveland Voucher Experiment

by Jay P. Greene, Paul E. Peterson, and William Howell

Test scores from the two Cleveland Hope Schools, both of which have large enrollments of low-income students, show moderate gains in reading and larger gains in math. The cause of the increase is not yet clear to researchers.

Program in Education Policy
and Governance Paper, June 1997
Kennedy School of Government,
Harvard University
#2184432 (8 pp.)

Summary of Oregon SB 880-C

Oregon lawmakers eliminated teacher tenure and seek to reward schools that meet educational improvement goals in a law signed by Democratic Governor John A. Kitzhaber on August 15. Under the new law, all current and new teachers will be employed on renewable two-year contracts.

Legislative Summary, August 1997
State of Oregon
#2180607 (2 pp.)

Public School Choice: A Failure in Texas

by George Piazzi and Allan E. Parker Jr.

Texas' forward-looking public school choice program allows students at failing public schools to transfer to other public schools. The program has been deemed a failure, however, largely because public school educators have kept the program under wraps, keeping participation low. It's time parents were informed of the choices—and *rights*—they have under the program.

Report, 1997
Texas Public Policy Foundation
#2112401 (11 pp.)

Public Education Grants: Your Right to Public School Choice

by Allen E. Parker Jr.

The Texas Education Code allows students at failing public schools to transfer to other public schools. This report de-mystifies the program and answers questions for parents with eligible children.

Report, no date
Texas Public Policy Foundation
#2112402 (5 pp.)

The Educational Freedom District

This proposal, from the Ethan Allen Institute, would allow local communities in Vermont to vote to opt out of the state-controlled public education system in favor of a new system characterized by competition and parental choice.

Proposal, November 1996
Ethan Allen Institute
#2184617 (2 pp.)

Statistics

Dropout Rates in the United States: 1995

The eighth annual dropout report, prepared by the National Center for Education Statistics, presents data on high school dropout and completion rates over the 1972 through 1995 time period. The report shows that 5.7 percent—over one-half million—of the 9.5 million 15- through 24-year-olds enrolled in grades 10-12 in October 1994 left school by October 1995 without successfully completing a high school program. Dropout rates were higher for males (6.2 percent) than females (5.3 percent). Hispanic students dropped out at nearly twice the rate of black students (12.4 percent versus 6.4 percent), and nearly three times the rate of white students (12.4 percent versus 4.5 percent).
Report, 1997
National Center for Education Statistics
#2178302 (introduction, 5 pp.)
#2178404 (chapter 1, 18 pp.)

Parents Misled on Student Achievement

by Brandon Dutcher

An education establishment that is more concerned with "diversity" than test scores fully controls the gathering and dissemination of information about the performance of Oklahoma's public schools. Not surprisingly, parents and the general public are largely unaware of the state's falling educational performance since 1970.
Point of View, 1997
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
#2182101 (2 pp.)

School to Work

School to Work? Businessmen Should Know Better

by Tony Maggio

The latest trendy fix for failing public school systems is "School to Work," a partnership with business. But if business leaders are serious about their role in improving the educations of children in their community, they must begin to ask hard-nosed questions of their public school "partners."
Policy Analysis, July 1997
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
#2175101 (3 pp.)

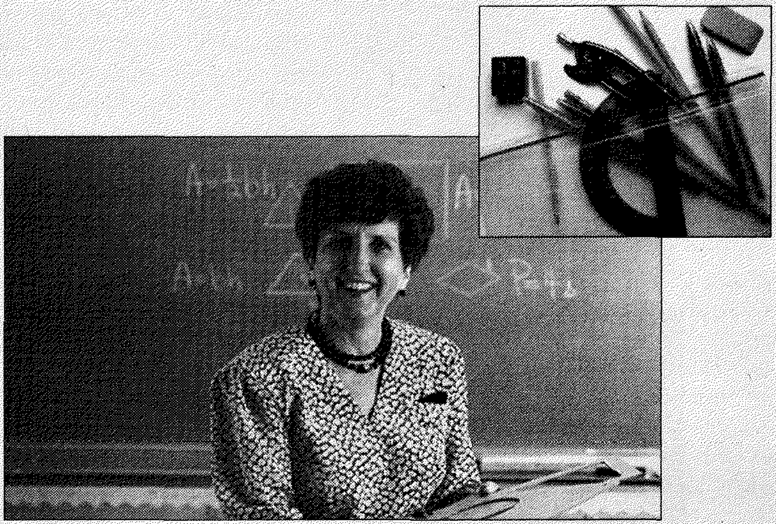
Get A Life

by Brandon Dutcher

School to Work initiatives aim at restructuring American schools with a job training focus. But children with such narrow educations will face life ill-prepared compared to earlier generations, who were taught broad knowledge and critical thinking skills.
At the Podium, June 1997
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
#2175201 (4 pp.)

School to Work and Goals 2000

The federal government's Goals 2000 programs established eight national educational goals: *but reading is not among them*! The Clinton administration has once again used conservative rhetoric successfully to mask what is just another big-government initiative.
The Phyllis Schlafly Report, April 1997
Eagle Trust Fund
#2175102 (4 pp.)



Teachers

America's Teachers: Profile of a Profession 1993-94

This National Center for Education Statistics report presents national data on teachers and teaching. It addresses such issues as teacher education and qualifications, compensation, supply and demand, and job satisfaction.
Summary, July 1997
National Center for Education Statistics
#2180303 (4 pp.)

Auburn School Board Resolution on Tenure

Frustrated by the lack of accountability in the teacher tenure system, a local school board has issued a call for reforms that would allow it to attract and retain teachers who are more than merely "adequate."
Resolution, October 1996
Auburn Board of Education
#2180111 (1 p.)

Reality Check: Minimum Wage Laws Do Kill Jobs

by Fazil Mihlar

Raising the minimum wage hurts teenagers twice: The higher wage encourages them to quit school, but also makes it less likely that they will find work, because employers are less willing to pay a high wage for inexperienced teen labor.

Fraser Forum, June 1997
The Fraser Institute
#2250107 (2 pp.)

Unionism

Official Time: How Taxpayers Are Forced to Pay for Union Activities

by Kenneth R. Weinstein and August Stofferahn

A federal government policy known as "official time" allows federal employees who are labor union officials to take authorized and paid time off to perform union-related tasks. The amount of time spent by federal government employees on union activities ballooned with the administration's "partnership councils" initiative. And now, following a ruling by the Federal Labor Relations Authority, union officials who are federal government employees will be permitted to lobby Congress on "official time" and at taxpayer expense.

Report, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2290406 (10 pp.)

Has Public Sector Labor Topped Out?

by Leo Troy Ph.D.

Private-sector unionism reached its peak just after World War II, experienced a period of stagnation, then started to decline in the 1970s. Public-sector unionism also appears to be entering a period of stagnation. But unlike the private-sector unions, public-sector unions will likely retain their political clout and become the dominant element in the organized labor movement—just as they have in other developed countries.

Government Union Review, Spring 1996
Public Service Research Foundation
#2290407 (part 1, 14 pp.)
#2290408 (part 2, 10 pp.)
#2290409 (charts 1, 14 pp.)
#2290410 (charts 2, 14 pp.)

Right to Work

Right to Work Could Make Good Economic News Better

by Brett A. Magbee

The economy seems to be doing well, and businesses across the country are thriving. But they can be even more successful. If Oklahoma policy makers want to further improve an already positive business climate, they should consider adopting a Right-to-Work law. A Minnesota Planning Division study found that a typical business cut its taxes in half moving from Minnesota's side of the border to North Dakota's Right-to-Work side. Workers' compensation costs are also lower in Right-to-Work states.

Point of View, 1997
Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
#2272103 (2 pp.)

Right to Work Under Siege

by D. Dowd Muska

Nevada workers have benefitted from a Right-to-Work law since 1952. Today, the law is under attack—not just by the state's unions, but by the Nevada attorney general.

Nevada Journal, July 1997
Nevada Policy Research Institute
#2272102 (4 pp.)

Right to Work: Job Creation New Zealand-Style

by Wolfgang Kasper

The Employment Contracts Act moved New Zealand from government administration of labor conditions to almost unrestricted labor markets. As a result, wages and employment are up, and union strikes are down.

Fraser Forum, June 1997
The Fraser Institute
#2272401 (10 pp.)

New Research on Current Controversies

Order these documents to stay abreast of the latest controversies on environmental protection!

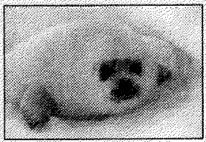
Environmental Justice

Environmental Injustice: How Green Ideology Denies Poor Blacks Good Jobs

by Henry Payne

To stop the licensing of a nuclear fuel enrichment plant in Claiborne Parish, Louisiana, doctrinaire anti-nuclear activists scared locals, claiming that the plant would "blow up" and that the location was chosen because they are black.

Reason, August/September 1997
Reason Foundation
#2325105 (3 pp.)



Toxic Release/Inventory

Forget Chemical Use, Let's Report Risk!

by George M. Gray Ph.D.

In the name of reporting toxic chemical use, a Massachusetts food company had to acknowledge the use of large amounts of acetic acid—i.e. vinegar. Sensible reporting would focus on risk, not use.

Risk in Perspective, April 1997
Harvard Center for Risk Analysis
#2315129 (2 pp.)

Animal Rights

Animal Welfare vs. Animal Rights

by Daniel T. Oliver

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) spreads disinformation in its quest to end the use and ownership of animals. It has justified and supported the actions of the violent Animal Liberation Front, while offering financial support to convicted terrorists.

Alternatives in Philanthropy, July 1997
Capital Research Center
#2302105 (8 pp.)

Chlorine

The Chlorination of Drinking Water

For ninety years, the chlorination of water has held at bay the health scourges typhus and cholera. Today's popular alarm about the byproducts of the chlorination disinfection process misses the fact that the health risks posed by microbes are at least 1,000 times greater than the chemical risks posed by these byproducts.

Report, 1997
Chlorine Chemistry Council/Canadian Chlorine Coordinating Committee
#2315421 (part 1, 14 pp.)
#2315422 (part 2, 15 pp.)

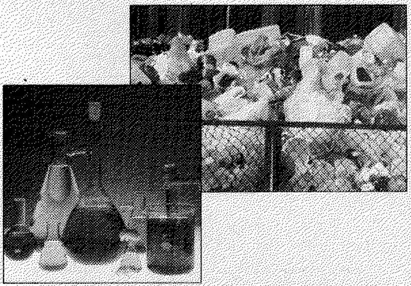
Audit Confidentiality

Can Polluters Police Themselves?

by Tom Arrandale

State environmental laws that grant immunity to self-reported polluters go against the grain of federal regulators who want to seek fines and penalties, and environmental groups who relish litigation.

Governing, June 1997
Congressional Quarterly Inc.
#2392114 (4 pp.)



Progress or Decline?

North American Environmental Quality is High—and Improving

by Boris DeWiel, Steven Hayward, Laura Jones, and M. Danielle Smith

Though the quality of our environment is improving, public concern about environmental issues, largely fueled by media hype and environmentalist scare tactics, is causing both Canada and the U.S. to increase expenditures on the environment . . . without any correspondingly dramatic reductions in pollution.

Fraser Forum, May 1997
The Fraser Institute
#2300110 (3 pp.)

Air Quality

Letters to the EPA on Ozone and Particulate Matter

by Elizabeth M. Whelan and A. Alan Moghissi

The EPA's ozone standard diverts funds from more pressing public health measures. Its fine particle standards are badly flawed, as they are based on studies that are ecological rather than epidemiological in nature. Whelan, who is president of the American Council on Science and Health, and Moghissi, who is its chairman, urge that the proposed standards be reconsidered.

Letters, March 1997
American Council on Science and Health
#2303203 (ozone standard, 4 pp.)
#2303204 (particulate matter standard, 4 pp.)

If It's Not Broken, Don't Fix It

In an open letter to the EPA, 22 scientists and economists urge withdrawal of the agency's proposed new air standards.

Letter, June 1997
American Council on Science and Health
#2303141 (2 pp.)

EPA's Case for New Ozone and Particulate Standards: Would Americans Get Their Money's Worth?

by Stephen Huebner
and Kenneth W. Chilton

The EPA has rolled ozone and particulate matter standards into a single package partly to mask the negligible health benefits offered by the lower ozone standard. But it's too soon to introduce a new particle standard, which needs to be set *after* science understands the health effects of this class of pollutant, not before.

Policy Study, June 1997
Center for the Study of American Business
#2303437 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#2303438 (part 2, 12 pp.)

Has the Case Been Made for New Air Quality Standards?

by Kenneth W. Chilton

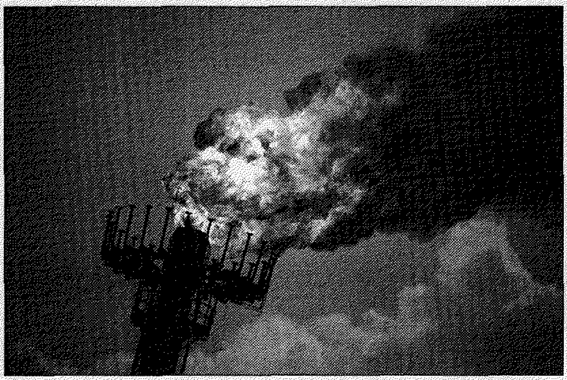
New standards for ozone and fine particle emissions are undermined by EPA's admission that it has overestimated the benefits of ozone reduction and failed to establish the mechanism linking fine particle concentrations to health effects.

Policy Brief, April 1997
Center for the Study of American Business
#2303436 (14 pp.)

Particle Pollution and Sudden Infant Death Syndrome in the United States

by Richard Wiles and Jacqueline Savitz

The Environmental Working Group and Physicians for Social Responsibility contend that the risk of sudden infant death syndrome (SIDS) increases with higher levels of PM10 particle pollution. Polluters should not be allowed to wage their misinformation campaigns and hold up the EPA's new PM2.5 pollution standards.



Policy Memorandum, July 1997
Environmental Working Group/Physicians for Social Responsibility
#2303439 (12 pp.)

The Human Costs of EPA Standards

by Wendy L. Gramm and Susan E. Dudley

The EPA's tightening of ozone rules will not only cost in excess of $80 billion per year, but also could increase incidences of skin cancer and asthma.

Editorial, June 9, 1997
The Wall Street Journal
#2303140 (1 p.)

The EPA's Exaggeration of the Health Risk from PM2.5

by Joel Bucher

The EPA originally estimated the number of deaths caused by airborne fine particles at 40,000 per year. The agency now admits the number is 15,000—but independent study indicates the true figure is under 1,000.

Issue Analysis, June 1997
Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation
#2303435 (5 pp.)

Can No One Stop the EPA?

by Angela Antonelli

In its efforts to impose new air quality standards, the EPA is not about to be stopped by lack of scientific support for its proposals, OMB challenges, evidence of costs unjustified by the likely benefits, or comments made by regular citizens or the states. Apparently, it's up to Congress to rein-in an agency gone rogue.

Backgrounder, July 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2330406 (part 1, 8 pp.)
#2330407 (part 2, 10 pp.)

Global Warming

Climate Change 95: An Appraisal

by Vincent Gray M.A. Ph.D.

In late 1996, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released *Climate Change 1995: The Science of Climate Change*, a 572-page report presenting the current state of scientific knowledge on global warming. The report is widely cited as proof of a "scientific consensus" on the need for immediate action to prevent global warming. Dr. Vincent Gray, who serves on the IPCC's peer review panel, contends that *Climate Change 95* provides no evidence to support drastic measures to control greenhouse gas emissions.

Policy Study, September 1997
The Heartland Institute
#2329313 (executive summary, 6 pp.)
#2329424 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#2329425 (part 2, 13 pp.)

Revenue Recycling and the Costs of Reducing Carbon Emissions

by Ian Parry

Mandated reductions in carbon emissions amount to another tax drag on the economy. This effect can be minimized by imposing an explicit tax on CO_2 emissions and using the revenue to reduce other taxes.

Climate Issues Brief, June 1997
Resources for the Future
#2303434 (13 pp.)

Calmer Weather—The Spin on Greenhouse Hurricanes

by Robert C. Balling Jr.

The public is convinced that increasing numbers of intense hurricanes are linked to global warming. But scientific evidence shows no measurable warming and a *decreasing* frequency of hurricanes.

Report, May 1997
Competitive Enterprise Institute
#2329423 (19 pp.)

Water Resources and Climate Change

by Kenneth Frederick

A global increase in temperature could increase water costs. Eliminating subsidies and establishing transferable property rights would help manage water resources effectively.

Climate Issues Brief, June 1997
Resources for the Future
#2329422 (15 pp.)

Scrap the Climate Treaty

by S. Fred Singer

The goals of a mandatory climate treaty appear to be linked more to an agenda of de-industrialization and redistribution of wealth than to sound climate science.

Opinion, March 1997
The Journal of Commerce
#2329710 (1 p.)

A Better Way to Slow Global Climate Change

by Warwick J. McKibbin and Peter J. Wilcoxen

The U.S. proposal to freeze carbon emissions at 1990 levels is scientifically and economically unwarranted. A better policy would aim to reduce rather than eliminate the growth of emissions.

Policy Brief, June 1997
The Brookings Institution
#2329421 (8 pp.)

Comments on "Open Letter to Ben Santer"

by S. Fred Singer, Bruce A. Boe, et al.

Important clauses were excised from the widely cited IPCC report supporting the global warming hypothesis. As a result, the report was rendered more congenial to both the hypothesis and state department officials . . . and less congenial to sound science.

Bulletin, January 1997
American Meteorological Society
#2329709 (2 pp.)

Myths of Global Warming

by H. Sterling Burnett

Satellite data show no global temperature increase in 18 years. Moreover, only 17 percent weather scientists believes that CO_2 emissions have caused global warming in the 20th century.

Brief Analysis, May 1997
National Center for Policy Analysis
#2329312 (2 pp.)

Insuring Di$a$ter

The value of coastal properties has risen to $3.1 trillion. You don't need to believe in global warming as a cause of increasingly severe weather to see that insurance industry disasters are likely, which may explain why spokespersons for the property insurance business have jumped on the global warming bandwagon.

World Climate Report, May 1997
#2329712 (4 pp.)

Administration Snow Job in North Dakota

The administration plugged its "global warming causes extreme weather" views to North Dakota victims of spring floods. But existing data show that warmer winters in the area mean *less* precipitation, not more.

World Climate Report, May 1997
#2329711 (2 pp.)

Modelers Do Not Want a Headline Saying: The Threat Is Over

While evidence against global warming piles up, climate modelers are trying to salvage their credibility. Now, they are predicting just a 1.2 degree Celsius increase over current temperatures . . . by the year 2100.

World Climate Report, June 1997
#2329708 (2 pp.)

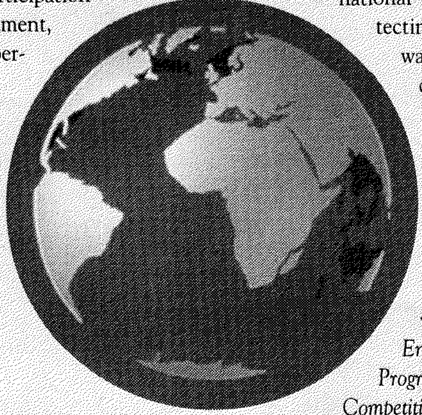
International Treaties

Testimony to the Committee on Resources, United States House of Representatives

by Carol W. LaGrasse

Recounting the history of the 1989 designation of the UNESCO Champlain-Adirondack Biosphere Reserve, LaGrasse (who is president of the Property Rights Foundation of America Inc.) contends that the biosphere reserve program is "hostile to human population and use of land." LaGrasse notes that, in 1983, Congress rejected the Biosphere Reserve bill, H.R. 2379. Yet the bill's provisions are being implemented by administrative fiat: the U.S. Department of State and Secretary of Interior designate biosphere reserves without review and approval by Congress. Her testimony came in support of the American Land Sovereignty Protection Act, which would "eliminate secrecy accompanying important land designation programs, allow participation by representative government, and preserve private property rights."

Testimony, May 5, 1997
The Property Rights Foundation of America Inc.
#2366205 (9 pp.)



New York Local Elected Officials, Property Rights and Labor Leaders Decry Secrecy and Endorse Congressional Scrutiny of U.N. Land Designations

by Carol W. LaGrasse

Some New Yorkers now find themselves allied with western interests as environmental groups attempt to designate part of the Catskills a biosphere reserve. H.R. 901 would require Congress to approve such designations.

Property Rights Report, 1997
The Property Rights Foundation of America Inc.
#2366133 (4 pp.)

Are International Treaties Being Used to Usurp Our Sovereign Rights?

by Jim Faulkner, Ruth Kaiser, and Earl F. Jones

How has the federal government acquired powers not enumerated in the Constitution, and against court rulings? The loophole used against local sovereignty has been the treaty clause of the Constitution.

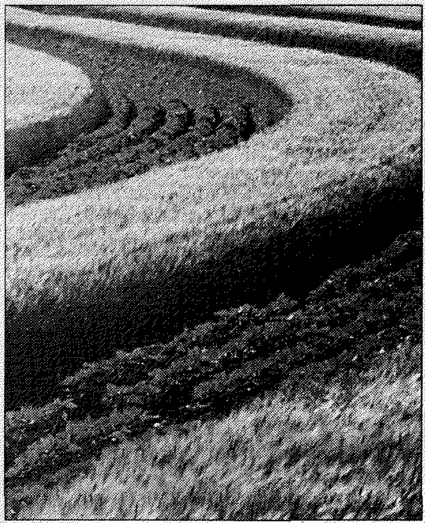
Property Rights Update, June 1997
National Federal Lands Conference
#1980123 (6 pp.)

The Yellowstone Affair: Environmental Protection, International Treaties and National Sovereignty

by Jeremy Rabkin

The World Heritage Committee, an international body charged with protecting "world heritage sites," was asked to intervene in a dispute over the development of a mine near Yellowstone. But this intervention strikes at U.S. sovereignty without providing as much protection as our own environmental laws provide.

Environmental Studies Program, May 1997
Competitive Enterprise Institute
#1980431 (part 1, 12 pp.)
#1980432 (part 2, 12 pp.)
#1980433 (appendix, 14 pp.)



Land Use Regulation

More International Interference in Land Use Regulations

by Erica Olsen

Land areas the size of Colorado have been designated part of the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" program. The program severely compromises landowner rights and U.S. sovereignty "for the good of the world community."

Nevada Journal, July 1997
Nevada Policy Research Institute
#2336102 (2 pp.)

A Victim of Wetlands Regulations

by Marisa Manley

The Army Corp of Engineers has claimed regulatory power over "wetlands"—seemingly defined as any land on which rain falls—although the Clean Water Act clearly does not give the Corps that kind of authority.

The Freeman, July 1997
Foundation for Economic Education
#2390101 (5 pp.)

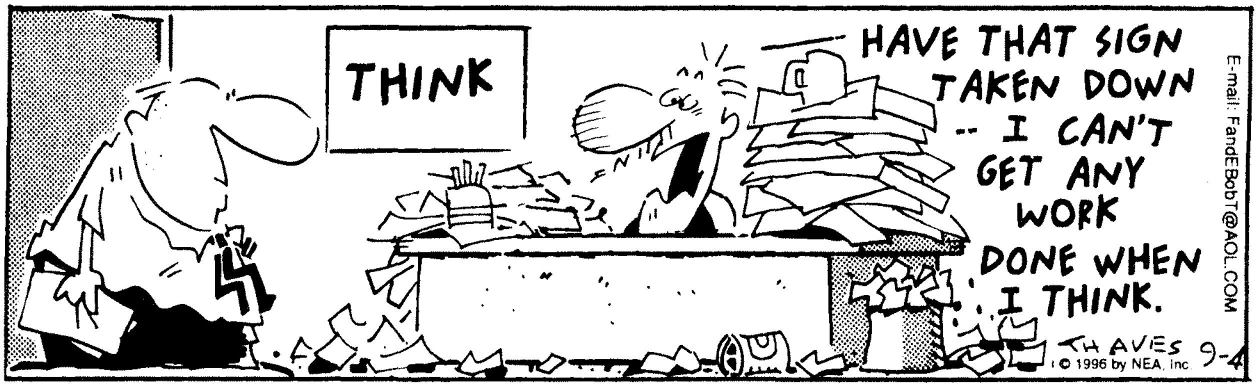
A Breach of the Public Trust

by James A. Buchen

The EPA, forced to acknowledge tampering with documents in a court case, has withdrawn a disputed regulation. Still, the agency's lack of integrity makes it easy to understand why public confidence in government has fallen.

Legislative/Executive Insight, June 1997
Wisconsin Manufacturers & Commerce
#7276101 (2 pp.)

THE NEXT REVOLUTION


THINK
HAVE THAT SIGN TAKEN DOWN -- I CAN'T GET ANY WORK DONE WHEN I THINK.
THAVES 9-4
© 1996 by NEA, Inc
E-mail: FandEBobT@AOL.COM

Used with permission of Newspaper Enterprise Association

GOVERNMENT'S GREATEST CON:
WITHHOLDING

2401

The money rolled into Congress, which joyfully spent it. Congress didn't even need to vote to raise taxes; inflation pushed people into higher brackets, increasing the government's share of their income. A cost-of-living raise would not raise one's standard of living, but it would increase the government's take because now the taxpayer was supposedly "richer." Inflation also eroded the value of the personal exemption. In 1950 the personal exemption was $600; today it is $2,450, but if the proper adjustment for inflation had been made, it should be over $8,700 to be at the 1950 level. With so much money available, the federal government took on new responsibilities. "By 1969 domestic outlays exceeded defense, for the first time." In 1952 defense and related expenditures (including veterans' services and benefits) equaled 57.6% of federal expenditures. In 1978 they equaled 20.2%. War broke the line of taxpayer resistance and the welfare state poured through the breech—slowly at first in the 50's and early 60's massively in the late 60's and beyond.

Federal tax receipts rose from 92.5 billion in 1960 to 1,153.5 billion in 1993. During this period, marginal income tax rates rose and fell; various deductions came and went, and all the while (until indexing was phased in from 1986-1990) inflation pushed people into higher brackets and eroded the value of deductions. Rising taxes made tax-free compensation in the form of employer-provided health insurance and pensions more valuable, so these were demanded by employees instead of cash. The resulting bureaucratic management of these goods through employer plans limits the employee's choices, pushes up prices, and involves the employer in decisions that should be none of his business.

Cost of Taxation

When the government takes a dollar, that dollar doesn't magically disappear from the taxpayer's bank account to appear later at a congressional committee meeting.

Things are *done* to people—costly things. There are compliance costs (learning about the tax laws, record keeping, preparing returns, processing returns), there are enforcement costs (audits, litigation, forced collections, imprisonment), there are evasion and avoidance costs (tax shelters, lobbying), and disincentive costs (work not performed and investments not made because taxes reduced the return).

The workers might think of the money they earned as their own and would be extremely reluctant to part with it (or may have already spent it by tax day.) **The new tax regime would be secure only if the government could get the money first.** Compulsory withholding of taxes by the employer was the answer.

> *"The one main object of the withholding tax law was to lull the taxpayer to sleep, to deceive him and make him believe that not he, but someone else was paying the tax. This was an insidious tax narcotic, and the men who framed the law well knew that if the taxes were taken from the envelope each week, the individual would soon disregard the tax entirely. He would consider only the amount of money in his envelope as his pay. If he did feel any resentment it would be directed at the employer, not the Government. This is what the Government wanted and this is exactly what happened."*
>
> —Vivien Kellems

From Principle to Privilege

"Benjamin felt a nose nuzzling at his shoulder. It was Clover. Without saying anything, she tugged gently at his mane and led him round to the end of the big barn where the Seven Commandments were written. For a minute or two they stood gazing at the tarred wall with its white lettering.... Are the Seven Commandments the same as they used to be, Benjamin?

For once Benjamin consented to break his rule, and he read out to her what was written on the wall. There was nothing there now except a single commandment. It read:

ALL ANIMALS ARE EQUAL
BUT SOME ANIMALS ARE MORE EQUAL THAN OTHERS

After that it did not seem strange when next day the pigs who were supervising the work of America all carried whips.... Twelve voices were shouting in anger, and they were all alike. No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which."

And back to Principle?

"Neither did we eat any man's bread for not — but labored night and day, that we might not be chargeable to any of you... that if any would not work neither should he eat."
II Th. 3:8-10 King James Version

HOW THOSE IN THE KNOW REMAIN SO!
The American Record is published by the Brian Bex Report, Inc. National distribution is made possible by voluntary contributions. Multiple copies are available upon request.
AMERICAN COMMUNICATIONS NETWORK • 100 N. Woodpecker Rd. • Hagerstown, IN 47346 • **(765) 489-5566** • Volume XXXI No. 5

Parks

Back to the Future to Save Our Parks

by Donald R. Leal and Holly Lippke Fretwell

The National Park System is $800 million behind on maintenance. Time for more federal funding? Hardly. Leal and Fretwell contend that the key to restoring our parks is a return to self-support as envisioned by the system's founders in 1916.

PERC Policy Series, June 1997
Political Economy Research Center
#2316415 (19 pp.)

New Hampshire's Self-Funding State Parks

by Wilbur LaPage

Paying for state parks with general funds makes them compete with urgent needs like law enforcement. A better way has been found in New Hampshire, where the self-funding park system charges fees *and* keeps its profits.

Different Drummer, Summer 1995
Thoreau Institute
#2316417 (5 pp.)

Texas' Entrepreneurial Budget System

by Ron Holliday

Allowing park managers to keep a share of excess revenues and budget savings for their parks enabled the Texas park system to move from 60 percent general tax funding before 1990 to 100 percent dedicated funding in 1994.

Different Drummer, Summer 1995
Thoreau Institute
#2316416 (5 pp.)

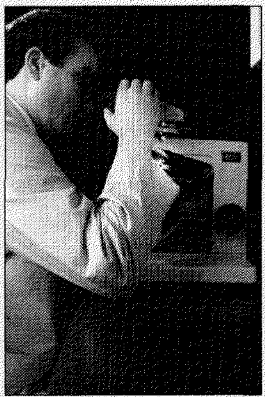
Sound Science

A Better Way of Doing Business: A Proactive Approach to Scientific Controversy

by Edward J. Burger Jr.

In light of the declining scientific literacy of Americans, businesses that are faced with scientific controversy—the Agent Orange, Alar, PCB, and saccharine scares, for example—need more than science on their side if they're to win in the court of public opinion. According to Burger, director of the Institute for Health Policy Analysis, "Solving the 'risk' problem is no longer simply a matter of resolving the scientific factual issues and making these facts publicly available. Satisfactory resolution turns on a much more complex set of issues growing out of how we view risks and risk-taking, the use of scientific facts as political currency, and the force of public perception." An industry must use all of its scientific, legal, and public relations resources, Burger contends, in a carefully coordinated manner to inform the public and win them over.

Briefly, May 1997
National Legal Center for the Public Interest
#2375401 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#2375402 (part 2, 10 pp.)



Better Science by Litigators, Better Management by Courts

by Edward J. Burger Jr.

Dr. Burger—a trained scientist and expert on the use of science in the courtroom—explains why justice in the U.S. will be better served if better science is delivered in the courtroom. According to Burger, the U.S. Supreme Court's 1993 decision in *Daubert v. Merrell Dow Pharmaceuticals Inc.*—which developed a series of detailed tests by which scientific evidence should be judged—requires judges to play a more aggressive role as "gatekeepers" who verify the reliability of scientific evidence and keep bad science out of the courtroom.

Briefly, January 1997
National Legal Center for the Public Interest
#2375403 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#2375404 (part 2, 12 pp.)

Facts versus Fears: A Review of the 20 Greatest Unfounded Health Scares of Recent Times

by Adam J. Lieberman

"Lack of scientific certainty shall not be a reason for postponing action" was among the principles adopted by the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. But such a policy can wreak havoc with public opinion and real lives. Since 1959, twenty scares based on next-to-no evidence have swept the country. This report from the American Council on Science and Health documents what happened in each of those incidents—from "the cranberry scare" of 1959, to 1977's saccharine scare, through the 1993 scares over asbestos in the schools and cellular phones. ACSH also reports good news: the American public is becoming far more skeptical of media hype and environmentalist-inspired scare tactics.

Special Report, May 1997
American Council on Science and Health
#2313421 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#2313422 (part 2, 14 pp.)
#2313423 (part 3, 11 pp.)

Building Consensus: The New Decision-Making Process

The latest intellectual con-game in policy making circles: consensus. The goal: subvert discussion by posing rhetorical questions, then anoint (no voting please!) a pre-determined position as the "consensus."

éco•logic , March/April 1997
éco
#2300111 (2 pp.)

Tobacco

The Feds Muscle in on an Old Racket

by Barbara Amiel

The tobacco industry is highly profitable, and thus it is hardly surprising that, like the mobsters of old, federal and state governments intend to get their cut of the industry's profits through the proposed tobacco settlement.

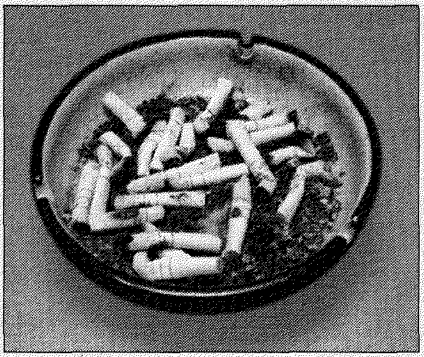
Comment, July 1997
The Sunday Sun (Toronto)
#2380125 (1 p.)

Will Government's Crusade Against Tobacco Work?

by Dwight R. Lee

Higher taxes, media campaigns, and advertising bans: none of these, according to policy analyst Lee, offers any hope of reducing teenage smoking. What's worse, experience in the U.S. and other countries suggests that these actions might actually *increase* smoking among the targeted teen audience.

Contemporary Issues Series, July 1997
Center for the Study of American Business
#2380418 (10 pp.)



Tobacco Medicaid Litigation: Snuffing Out the Rule of Law

by Robert A. Levy

For decades, tobacco companies defended themselves against lawsuits by arguing that smokers are responsible adults . . . and juries agreed. That tort law experience is now to be stood on its head. The tobacco industry settlement will provide for compensation to be paid to third parties (the states), while those injured by tobacco products will lose their access to the courts. The settlement is nothing more than a cynical attempt to take money from an unpopular industry and an unprecedented assault on the rule of law.

Policy Analysis, June 1997
Cato Institute
#2380303 (news release, 1 p.)
#2380419 (part 1, 14 pp.)
#2380420 (part 2, 12 pp.)
#2380421 (part 3, 15 pp.)
#2380422 (part 4, 16 pp.)
#2380124 (addendum, 5 pp.)

Family/Culture

Hollywood's Three Big Lies

by Michael Medved

Does Hollywood produce R-rated movies because they sell better? Hardly. The top money-makers, according to Medved—a radio talk show host, film critic, and co-host of "Sneak Previews"—are all G- or PG-rated. The film industry is not just full of bad values, it is full of bad businessmen.

Vision & Values, May 1997
Grove City College
#2410201 (7 pp.)

The American Community Renewal Act of 1997

by Christine L. Olson

The federal government's "offensives" since declaration of the war on poverty have been unfocused, uncoordinated, and largely unsuccessful. The American Community Renewal Act of 1997 would encourage a comprehensive and "holistic" approach to improving economic, educational, and moral aspects of targeted communities.

Issue Bulletin, March 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2409601 (18 pp.)

The Camp-Kennelly Adoption Promotion Act

States unwittingly discourage adoption and encourage keeping children in foster care because the latter is reimbursed on a "cost plus" basis. The Camp-Kennelly Adoption Promotion Act would provide incentives to encourage states to move children into adoptive homes more quickly.

In Focus, 1997
Family Research Council
#2406101 (2 pp.)

Why the System Fails Abused Children

by Douglas Besharov

It may sometimes be necessary to challenge child service agencies with lawsuits. But reform of the child welfare system must ultimately come from within the agency: reforms should not be implemented through court supervision.

Trial, March 1997
Association of Trial Lawyers of America
#2411101 (5 pp.)

Family/Culture

The Child Abuse Crisis: The Disintegration of Marriage, Family, and the American Community

by Patrick F. Fagan and Dorothy B. Hanks

The breakdown of marriage has led to more than just high divorce rates: It has also led to an epidemic of child abuse. About 2,000 infants and very young children die of abuse each year. No mere government program can address the underlying moral issues. Only a fundamental reform of family life and sexual mores can promise a change for the better.

Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#2411401 (part 1, 15 pp.)
#2411402 (part 2, 16 pp.)

Fatal Preservation

by Dennis Saffran

In their zeal to avoid judging other cultures, advocates of family preservation have forgotten their first and highest responsibility: protecting children from abuse.

City Journal, Summer 1997
Manhattan Institute
#2432401 (6 pp.)

The Birth and Death of Voluntarism: A Philadelphia Story

by James L. Payne

Why do people reflexively call on government to solve social ills? The answer is a combination of two deeply held feelings: our awe of the power of government, and our need to believe that some higher entity has all the answers to our problems.

Philanthropy, Culture & Society, July 1997
Capital Research Center
#2485101 (8 pp.)

Commentary on Church-State Issues

by Governor Fob James Jr.

Since the Supreme Court's decision to outlaw public school prayer, the Court's authority to render this ruling, questionable on Fourteenth Amendment grounds, has not been seriously challenged. Alabama Governor Fob James Jr. makes the legal and historical case that the extension of due process embodied in the Fourteenth Amendment does not and cannot empower the federal judiciary to intervene in the issue of school prayer in state schools.

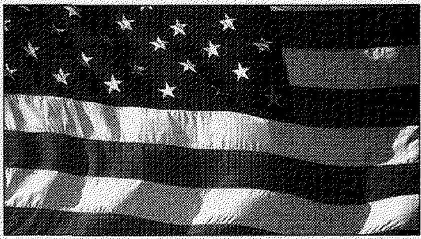
Correspondence, June 1997
State of Alabama
#2412601 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#2412602 (part 2, 12 pp.)
#2412603 (part 3, 12 pp.)

Governing

Our Country's Founding Documents

If you're like us, you never seem to be able to find your copy of our country's most important founding documents: the Constitution and its Amendments, and the Declaration of Independence. They're now available, at your fingertips, 24 hours a day and 7 days a week, through *PolicyFax*!

#2800602 *(U.S. Constitution, 19 pp.)*
#2800603 *(Amendments to U.S. Constitution, 11 pp.)*
#2800604 *(Declaration of Independence, 4 pp.)*



A Constitutional Convention to Achieve Term Limits: What Happens When the States Apply for a Constitutional Convention

by Hon. Gale Norton

Congress seems loathe to abide by the will of the people with respect to term limits. As a result, many states are proposing to call a constitutional convention. What rules would govern the first such convention held in 210 years? Norton, who is attorney general of the state of Colorado, sheds some light on questions that would need to be answered even before a constitutional convention could be convened. She discusses such issues as where the convention should be held, how the delegates would be selected, and how much power the convention would have. Norton concludes that "a constitutional convention is a legitimate tool of the American people, and they should not be afraid to use it."

Issue Paper, July 1997
Independence Institute
#2880412 (17 pp.)

Infill: The Cure for Sprawl?

by Tara Ellman

Infill—the development of available land within an existing urban area—has been touted as a remedy for urban sprawl. But practically speaking, it is unlikely that infill programs or any other actions taken by local governments can greatly reduce the rate of urban expansion.

Arizona Issue Analysis, August 1997
Goldwater Institute
#2813405 (part 1, 12 pp.)
#2813406 (part 2, 10 pp.)

Daffy Diagnosis

by Andrew Cline

Last year's Health Insurance Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA)—better known as Kassebaum-Kennedy—has some undesirable elements, like mandatory group-to-individual-insurance portability. Fortunately, the Act also includes opt-out provisions for states with the wisdom to pursue them.

Carolina Journal, June/July 1997
The John Locke Foundation
#3228146 (5 pp.)

How Health Insurance Mandates Misdiagnose the Disease

by Carrie J. Gavora

The root cause of problems with the U.S. health care system is obvious: Insurers work for employers, not for families. Americans should own their health insurance policies, just as they already own their home and auto insurance.

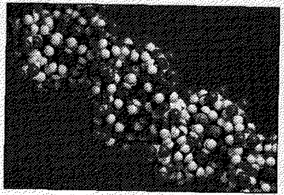
Backgrounder, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#3236114 (5 pp.)

Time is Running Out for Medicare Reform

by Stuart M. Butler

Medicare will be bankrupt by 2001, yet the only "reforms" to have been seriously considered by the President and Congress consist of nothing more than accounting legerdemain. This Heritage Foundation *Backgrounder* presents six more fundamental changes that would constitute *real* reform of the system.

Backgrounder, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#3254106 (6 pp.)



The Kentucky Health Care Experiment: How Managed Competition Clamps Down on Choice and Competition

by Rachel McCubbin

If you've ever wondered what would have happened if ClintonCare had been enacted, look to Kentucky. The Bluegrass State passed its version in April 1994—redefining the state's insurance market, creating new health care bureaucracies, and altering the financing of health care for the poor. As a result, 45 health insurance companies have abandoned the Kentucky market; health insurance costs are up; and choice and coverage options are down.

State Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#3252402 (16 pp.)

The Rise and Repeal of the Washington State Health Plan: Lessons for America's State Legislators

by Robert Cihak and Bob Williams

Passed in a wave of enthusiasm for health care "reform," Washington state's health plan was repealed by a newly installed Republican house majority within a year and a half of its birth. The lesson from this short-lived effort? *Real* health care reform must concentrate on *increasing* options in the health insurance market—not restricting them.

State Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#3276401 (18 pp.)

Bad Advice on LTC Insurance Abounds

Some health care and policy advisors recommend that senior citizens shelter their assets and rely on Medicaid for their long-term care needs. But seniors should be aware that some asset transfers and shelters have been criminalized; moreover, Medicaid care may be less accessible and lower in quality than the care they could receive outside the Medicaid system.

News Release, August 1997
LTC Incorporated
#3248101 (2 pp.)

MSAs: An Alternative to High Cost Medical Care

by Lexey Parker M.D.

Medical Savings Accounts (MSAs) empower employees to make their own health care decisions, and can cut employer health care costs by 35 percent. Who opposes them? Managed care companies—which are currently raking in 25 to 35 percent of health care premiums.

Nevada Policy Review, August 1997
Nevada Policy Research Institute
#2353121 (4 pp.)

November/December 1997

Heartland Publications Order Form

The Heartland Institute ❦ 800 East Northwest Highway #1080 ❦ Palatine, IL 60067 ❦ Phone 847/202-3060 ❦ Fax 847/202-9799

Current Heartland Members and donors, journalists, and elected officials are entitled to receive a single copy of each newly released Heartland book and *Heartland Policy Study* at no charge. Additional copies may be ordered for the list prices indicated below. Orders must be prepaid and accompanied by this form.

Bulk purchase discounts are available. For information, call Eric Caron at 847/202-3060.

Shipping Information

Name ____________________ Email ____________________
Title ____________________ Business ____________________
Address ____________________
City, State, Zip ____________________
Work Phone ____________________ Work Fax ____________________
Home Phone ____________________ Home Fax ____________________

Billing Information

○ My check in the amount of $_______ is enclosed. ○ Please bill ○ Visa ○ MC ○ AmEx
(Please make checks payable to The Heartland Institute)

Account # ____________________ Exp. ____________________
Signature ____________________

	Title	Price	Quantity	Total
Books	***A Nation of Millionaires*** Robert J. Genetski • May 1997 • 170 pages	$8.95 paper		
	Gridlock in Government Roger E. Meiners and Roger LeRoy Miller • January 1997 • 150 pages	$4.95 paper		
	Exploding Population Myths Jim Peron • January 1996 • 80 pages	$4.95 paper		
	Eco-Sanity: A Common-Sense Guide to Environmentalism Joseph L. Bast, Peter J. Hill, and Richard C. Rue • June 1994 • 320 pages	$22.95 cloth		
	Why We Spend Too Much on Health Care Joseph L. Bast, Richard C. Rue, and Stuart A. Wesbury Jr. • April 1993 • 155 pages	$8.95 paper		
Policy Studies	***Climate Change 95:* An Appraisal** Policy Study No. 84 • Dr. Vincent Gray • September 1997 • 24 pages	$10.00		
	The States vs. the Tobacco Industry: Smoke and Assorted Mirrors Policy Study No 83 • Michael E. DeBow • June 1997 • 24 pages	$10.00		
	Local Property Tax-Based Funding of Public Schools Policy Study No. 82 • Dr. Caroline M. Hoxby • May 1997 • 24 pages	$10.00		
	A Taxing Matter: Changes in Government Revenue and Spending, 1950-1996 Policy Study No. 80 • Joseph L. Bast and Diane Carol Bast • April 1997 • 92 pages	$15.00		
	The Future of Electricity: Reliability in a Competitive World Conference Proceedings • December 1996 • 48 pages	$10.00		
	How to Implement Kassebaum-Kennedy Policy Study No. 78 • Conrad F. Meier • March 1997 • 32 pages	$10.00		
	Should Congress Stop the Bidding War for Sports Franchises? Part 1: Federal Policy Makers • August 1996 • 20 pages Part 2: League Commissioners • August 1996 • 24 pages Part 3: Municipal Authorities • August 1996 • 32 pages Part 4. Academics • August 1996 • 32 pages	**$25.00**		
	The Heartland Report on School Finance Reform for Illinois Joseph L. Bast, Herbert J. Walberg, and Robert J. Genetski Part 1: A Reply to the Governor's Commission • May 1996 • 90 pages Part 2: Alternative Principles for School Reform • May 1996 • 72 pages	**$20.00**		
	The Modern State as an Occasion of Sin Policy Study No. 71 • Jennifer Roback Morse • February 1996 • 18 pages	$10.00		
	TOTAL ENCLOSED			**$**

State Judiciaries and Impartiality: Judging the Judges

"We expect legislatures to play political favorites, and even tolerate it to an extent in the executive branch," writes Ernest B. Hueter, president of the National Legal Center, "but judges are supposed to be evenhanded. If we find ourselves in court, we want a blind eye for our race, ethnicity, and religion—and for our political affiliation and activities, local popularity or lack of it, and state of residence." In this fascinating monograph released by the Center, seven authors address myriad aspects of the "disturbing gap that apparently may exist between this ideal and the reality in many state judiciaries." For more information, contact The National Legal Center for the Public Interest at 202/296-1683.

Introduction

by Griffin B. Bell

Bell, former U.S. Attorney General and now director of the National Legal Center, introduces the theme of the monograph and explains his own personal interest—as a former judge and former prosecutor—in the topic of judicial impartiality.

#4832301 (7 pp.)

Selection of State Court Judges

by Polly J. Price

Price explains why the system of judicial selection contributes to the fairly common perception among the public that state judges more often lack impartiality than do federal judges. A state's system of selecting court judges—whether they are elected or appointed, how long they serve, and whether they are subject to recall—is a good indication of what a state's citizens understand to be the proper role of judges in the state court system. It is impossible to come up with a perfect system, contends Price, because "each of the three possible decision makers for selecting judges—the people (direct elections), politicians (elected government officials), and commissions (nonelected bodies)—has . . . strengths and weaknesses" in its ability to evaluate the honesty, competency, and philosophy of judges.

#4832402 (16 pp.)

Issues in Judicial Election Campaigns

by Joseph R. Cerrell and Hal Dash

In states with elected judiciaries, campaigns "can be as rough-and-tumble politically as any other election." Judicial campaigns use many, if not all, of the campaigning and fundraising tactics found in other races. Cerrell and Dash address the concerns raised by many observers of judicial campaigning who believe elections are too "undignified" for such an important post. "In the long run," they write, judicial campaigns "add up to a healthy political dialogue and a judicial system that is refreshed periodically by new faces, eager to take on the problems plaguing our society while still upholding the laws that made this country great."

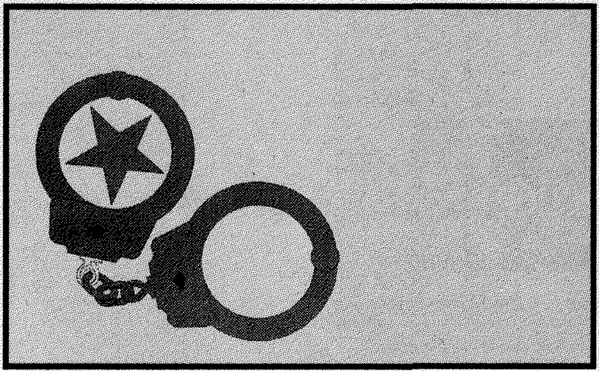
#4832403 (7 pp.)

Ethical Issues After Election

by Theodore J. Boutrous Jr.
and Thomas G. Hungar

The American Bar Association has established a Model Code of Judicial Conduct that defines appropriate judicial behavior both in and out of the courtroom. Most of the ethical issues that arise for sitting judges have to do with financial and other relationships between judges and attorneys. Since neither the bench nor the bar in most states seems ready to address these serious issues, state policy makers are beginning to take action. Alabama, for example, passed in 1995 a statute proposed by the governor that disqualifies a judge who accepts large campaign contributions from parties or lawyers who later appear before the judge.

#4832404 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#4832405 (part 2, 10 pp.)



The Voting Rights Act and Judicial Elections

by Michael B. Wallace

Gerrymandering has come to judicial elections in Mississippi, where in 1994 fifteen blacks were elected to judgeships as a result of "an intricate deal negotiated by Mississippi politicians, including both judges and legislators, to create districts populated overwhelmingly by blacks who could be relied upon to vote for black lawyers." As a result, out-of-state businesses that find themselves in Mississippi courtrooms will generally be at a disadvantage, more likely to be treated unfairly because they do not vote in local judicial elections and rarely contribute financially to local judicial election campaigns.

#4832406 (14 pp.)

State Disciplinary Proceedings and the Impartiality of Judges

by James D. Miller

State court judges are held more accountable to the public, by a variety of mechanisms, than are federal judges. The vast majority of state court judges are elected by the people, not appointed. While federal judges are given lifetime tenure by Article III of the U.S. Constitution, no state constitution has a similar provision for its judges. Almost all states have a fixed term for judges, and many also have a mandatory retirement age. And all of the states have some formal process for investigating complaints of misconduct against state judges that can lead to removal, suspension, or reprimand. These disciplinary proceedings, notes Miller, are an important protection against conduct by judges that creates the appearance of a lack of impartiality or violates the standards of judicial ethics.

#4832407 (8 pp.)

The Long Arm of Federal Juvenile Crime Law Shortened

by Morgan O. Reynolds

The federal Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Act of 1974 allowed a great deal of federal interference in states' administration of juvenile justice. The states are beginning to fight back, and bills challenging the federal government's authority in this arena are making their way through the House and Senate.

Brief Analysis, July 1997
National Center for Policy Analysis
#4840301 (2 pp.)

Taxation by Litigation: The Economics of Civil Justice Reform in Massachusetts

by David G. Tuerck, et al.

In 1995, the national cost of the tort system reached $161 billion—fully 2.3 percent of the country's Gross Domestic Product that year. That figure was *down* from a high of 2.5 percent of GDP in 1986. The cost of the tort system imposes a huge tax on Americans, totaling more than one-quarter the amount raised by federal income tax collections. To bring relief, the Civil Justice Reform Act (S-896) is being considered in Massachusetts.

Report, May 1997
Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy Research
#4813301 (executive summary, 8 pp.)
#4813401 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#4813402 (part 2, 11 pp.)
#4813403 (part 3, 9 pp.)
#4813404 (part 4, 13 pp.)
#4813405 (part 5, 12 pp.)
#4813406 (part 6, 11 pp.)
#4813407 (part 7, 17 pp.)
#4813408 (part 8, 5 pp.)
#4813409 (appendix A, 16 pp.)
#4813410 (appendix B and bibliography, 15 pp.)

Politics

How to Win Reelection!

The First 25 Steps Every Smart Candidate Should Take

by Ron Faucheux

A message, some money, an organization, and a mountain of preparation are key weapons in the arsenal of the prospective candidate for any political office.

Campaigns & Elections, July 1997
#6335402 (7 pp.)

How the GOP Won in New Mexico

by Chris Wilson and Mike Burita

Popular wisdom may hold that character doesn't matter in elections. To some, the successful re-election of President Bill Clinton is a key example. But in a recent New Mexico campaign, Bill Redmond's upset victory showed that character was hugely important to voters.

Campaigns & Elections, July 1997
#6312101 (3 pp.)

Staying Positive: How Sue Bauman Was Elected Mayor of Madison, Wisconsin—Without Going Negative

by Christopher A. Micklos and Jay Sapiro

Sue Bauman is the first woman mayor of Madison, Wisconsin—by a 55-vote margin. Thought to be behind by double-digit percentages, Bauman prevailed in large part because she maintained a positive campaign and refused to attack her opponent.

Campaigns & Elections, July 1997
#6350101 (5 pp.)

What it Means to Be a Libertarian

by Charles Murray

Why is there a libertarian revolution in the making? Because millions of Americans—and growing numbers of citizens around the world—take for granted the efficiency and effectiveness of private institutions . . . and our everyday experiences confirm that government bumbling, too, is a given.

Speech, June 1997
Center of the American Experiment
#6345201 (15 pp.)

How to Win Reelection!

Campaign Finance Reform

Proposals to limit campaign contributions or to cap spending are dangerous restrictions on political free speech. The three reports reviewed below describe ways to be pro-reform without being anti-free speech.

Campaign Reform: Let's Not Give Politicians the Power to Decide What We Can Say about Them

by Douglas Johnson and Mike Beard

Those proposing to muzzle advocacy groups involved in election campaigns seem to have forgotten that the First Amendment is the country's primary "election law." The marketplace of ideas—the strength of our democracy—would be seriously hurt by campaign finance reform.

Briefing Paper, July 1997
Cato Institute
#2815301 (news release, 1 p.)
#2815402 (16 pp.)

Money, Politics, and the First Amendment

by Major Garrett

Campaign finance reform should aim at reducing the power of special interest PACs. This can be accomplished not by assaults on the First Amendment, but through the repeal of limits on individual campaign contributions.

Briefing Paper, June 1997
Cato Institute
#2815403 (11 pp.)

Money Walks

by Jeff Milyo

Contrary to anguished editorials, campaign finance is not out of control, for the simple reason that money is not the decisive factor in elections.

Reason, July 1997
#2815103 (3 pp.)

How to Use Campaign Technology

Your reelection campaign can reach more people at less cost than ever before, thanks to new campaign technologies. The following articles from Campaigns & Elections *show how it's done.*

Inbound 800 #s: An Effective Grassroots Organizing Technique

by Dan Powell

Taking advantage of the tools used to market everything from toothpaste to t.v. dinners, the Consumers' Alliance for Electric Choice—an Illinois grassroots coalition of consumer and business groups and utility companies—established an 800 number to channel calls from constituents directly to their state legislators, without expense to the constituent. Such use of marketing technology delivers "immediate, cost-efficient, convenient, data-rich, and effective grassroots responses," writes Powell, vice present of a Portland, Oregon-based telephone contact firm.

Article, August 1997
Campaigns & Elections
#6355102 (2 pp.)

Satellites, Feeds and Computers

by Richard "Oz" Ouzounian

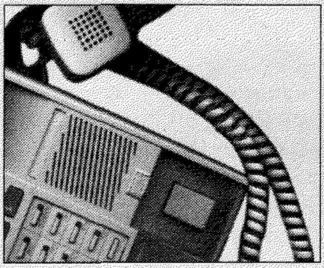
Creative use of new technology—and not just sites on the World Wide Web—can be an extremely cost-effective alternative to traditional commercial media advertising.

Article, August 1997
Campaigns & Elections
#6355101 (1 p.)

Telephones as Strategic Tools

Among Abraham Lincoln's most valuable campaign advice was, "Make a list of every Whig and make sure they vote." Today's listmaker—the professionally operated computerized phone campaign—is no less valuable than listmakers were in Lincoln's day.

Article, August 1997
Campaigns & Elections
#6355401 (8 pp.)



Privatization

Public Profits from Private Contracts: A Case Study in Human Services

by Robert Melia

Contracting services to the private sector makes sense for trash collection—but can social services benefit as well? In five states that have contracted out child support enforcement, the answer seems to be yes. Costs are down and productivity is up, due to the flexibility advantage that the private sector has over the public.

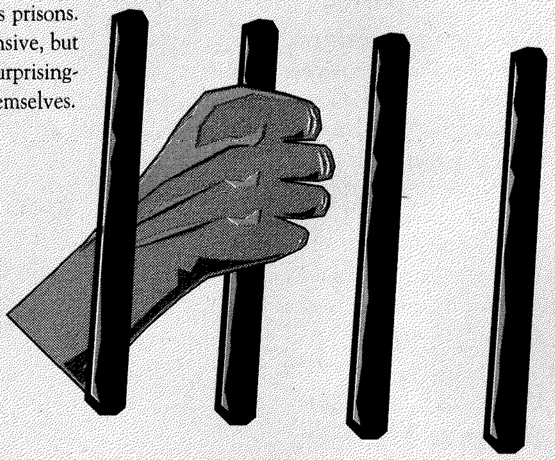
White Paper, June 1997
Center for Restructuring Government
Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research
#6512309 (executive summary, 6 pp.)
#6512439 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#6512440 (part 2, 9 pp.)
#6512441 (part 3, 12 pp.)

Private Prisons

by Stephen Easton

Canada should consider privatizing its prisons. Not only are private prisons less expensive, but they also serve the public well and, surprisingly, are more popular with inmates themselves.

Fraser Forum, May 1997
Fraser Institute
#6512109 (2 pp.)



Regulation

No Long Distance Connection

by Peter K. Pitsch

Recent price increases in basic long-distance telephone rates have raised concerns among some policy makers that the industry's largest firms are colluding to keep prices up. But Pitsch, former chief of staff for the Federal Communications Commission, reports that competition among the larger providers is actually re-balancing rates that were distorted by regulation. "Recent price changes in the long-distance market show a movement to cost-based prices driven by competition," he notes, "not collusion."

Outlook, August 1997
Hudson Institute
#7203201 (12 pp.)

Five Good Reasons to Force the TVA into Mandatory Retirement

by Adam D. Thierer

"You can't ignore us, you can't leave us behind, you can't break us up and you can't sell us," boasted TVA chairman Craven Crowell in a recent article for *Forbes* magazine. His arrogance is just one reason for Congress to dissolve this 65-year-old New Deal artifact. Other reasons include the billions of dollars that privatization would save taxpayers; the competition and improved management that would be spurred by privatization; and the leveling of the electric utility playing field that would result from eliminating inefficient government subsidies to TVA.

FYI, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#7275120 (6 pp.)

Wireless Services, Spectrum Auctions, and Competition in Modern Telecommunications

by Thomas J. Duesterberg and Peter K. Pitsch

FCC auctions of electromagnetic spectrum rights have initiated a wave of innovation and products in the communication market. That unleashing of the power of the private sector should result in the industry's rapid growth—some observers expect it to mirror the growth already seen in desktop computing.

Outlook, May 1997
Hudson Institute
#7280413 (16 pp.)

Preventing Banking Crises in the Future

by George G. Kaufman

The 1991 reform of U.S. deposit insurance attempts to ensure that shareholders, not depositors, will bear losses that result from poor banking business decisions. The 1991 reform imposes graduated regulatory sanctions, in an attempt to mimic the market sanctions that are brought to bear on other industries.

The Independent Review, Summer 1997
The Independent Institute
#7608402 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#7608403 (part 2, 12 pp.)

Regulatory Changes and Trends: An Analysis of the 1998 Budget of the U.S. Government

by Christopher Douglass,
Michael Orlando, and Melinda Warren

After a 9 percent increase in 1997, the overall size of the federal regulatory apparatus will plateau in 1998 at $17.2 billion. This figure does not come close to estimating the impact of government regulation on the lives of U.S. citizens and businesses. The cost of complying with regulations is 20 to 70 times the administrative costs incurred by the government.

Policy Brief, July 1997
Center for the Study of American Business
#7285301 (news release, 1 p.)
#7285401 (part 1, 10 pp.)
#7285402 (part 2, 12 pp.)
#7285403 (appendix, 16 pp.)

Electricity Deregulation

Electric Competition

What does the emerging era of electric competition hold, besides lower consumer prices for electricity? Watch for independent wholesalers and aggregators to become increasingly important to the system. And expect stranded costs to be much lower than current estimates suggest.

Economic Education Bulletin, June 1997
American Institute for Economic Research
#7275119 (4 pp.)

Bringing Consumer Choice to Electricity

by Representative Thomas DeLay

DeLay contends that an open market for electricity is inevitable. But some utility companies are employing a states' rights strategy to block federal deregulation and delay opening the electricity market for as long as possible.

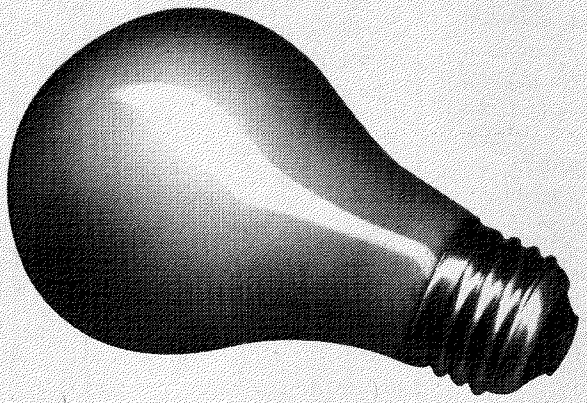
The Heritage Lectures, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#7275202 (6 pp.)

Electricity Deregulation and Federalism: How Congress and the States Can Work Together to Deregulate Successfully

by Adam D. Thierer

Though the Commerce Clause has been much abused by an over-reaching federal judiciary, Congress clearly has authority to act in matters of interstate commerce. There is a role for the federal government to play in electric utility deregulation. Congress and the states should cooperate in the deregulation of electricity, with enough federal guidance to prevent the resurgence of state-sanctioned monopolies.

Backgrounder, June 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#7275508 (part 1, 12 pp.)
#7275509 (part 2, 11 pp.)



Antitrust

Antitrust Policy as Corporate Welfare

by Clyde Wayne Crews Jr.

Antitrust laws are used to benefit the politically well-connected and attack high-profile companies. It's high time that enforcers of antitrust law are required to prove that their efforts benefit the public in a measurable way. Crews investigates how antitrust laws hobble the free market, infringe on individuals, and act as a protector of special-interest groups. According to Crews, "the decades-long history of antitrust enforcement provides ample evidence that antitrust often does not advance consumer well-being, but instead furthers the aims of firms hoping to hobble more successful competitors and the career ambitions of overseers. . . . The faith that antitrust law primarily protects consumers deserves fresh, critical, and comprehensive congressional scrutiny prior to the new century."

Report, July 1997
Competitive Enterprise Institute
#7203408 (19 pp.)

Antitrust Policy: Toward a Post-Chicago Synthesis

by Carl Shapiro

Government antitrust policy should avoid populist "big is bad" excesses, focusing instead on straightforward violations of the law like price-fixing and anti-competitive mergers between rival firms.

Jobs & Capital, Winter 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#7203406 (8 pp.)

Antitrust and the Federal Software Commission

by J. Gregory Sidak

The IBM antitrust case showed that regulation is too slow to address a technologically dynamic industry, yet the trust busters are at it again, attempting to thwart Microsoft product introductions and acquisitions.

Jobs & Capital, Winter 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#7203407 (4 pp.)

Trust Busting: Past & Prologue

by George Bittlingmayer

A review of one hundred years of antitrust law shows that the misdeeds combated by antitrust are perhaps less important than the unintended and unhappy side effects that inevitably accompany antitrust enforcement.

Jobs & Capital, Winter 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#7203405 (8 pp.)

A Look at Tax Caps in Illinois

by Richard F. Dye

The property tax caps adopted in Illinois are, to an extent, limiting local government spending. But because the caps are inflation-indexed, they are much less constraining on local taxing authority than have been tax caps adopted in other states.

Illinois Municipal Review, July 1997
Illinois Municipal League
#8064104 (3 pp.)

Bottom Line on Finance Committee's Proposed 20¢ Cigarette Excise Hike: Bottom Income Earners Would Pick Up Most of the Tab

With current patterns of cigarette consumption, the federal government's proposed increase in the cigarette tax to pay for child health programs will amount to the poor paying for new programs for the poor.

News Release, June 1997
Tax Foundation
#8021117 (2 pp.)

New Tax Foundation Analyses Question Role of Excise Taxes in Sound Federal and State Tax Policy

Taxes distort the economic choices made by individuals. New Tax Foundation analyses conclude that excise taxes are the worst taxes, because they have the most distorting effect per dollar raised.

News Release, June 1997
Tax Foundation
#8021118 (2 pp.)

Taxes and Fees in Los Angeles: A Comparison Across Residents and Businesses

by Elaine Reardon

Where does the city of Los Angeles get its revenue? This report offers a detailed analysis and comparison with the revenue bases of other cities. Los Angeles, it turns out, gets slightly more of its revenues from residents than businesses, and somewhat less from tourists and conventioneers than is the case in other cities.

Papers in Public Policy, Spring 1997
Milken Institute for Job & Capital Formation
#8037112 (6 pp.)

Taxing Times

by Daniel J. Mitchell

National retail sales tax proponents and flat-rate income tax proponents are so busy fighting each other that they may miss their opportunity to defeat the real ogre: the current bewildering income tax system.

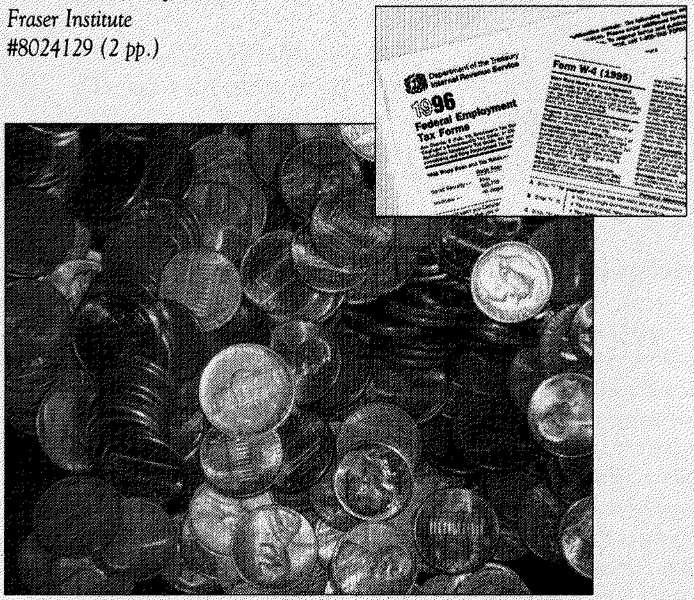
Reason, August/September 1997
#8024130 (3 pp.)

The Rise and Fall of the Flat Tax in the U.S.

by Michael Taube

Although arguments against the flat-rate income tax lack substance, the steam has gone out of the movement. This has happened largely because of policy makers' reluctance to tackle deductions and personal exemptions.

Fraser Forum, May 1997
Fraser Institute
#8024129 (2 pp.)



The Taxpayers' Rights Amendment

Iowans are debating bills that would limit taxes and spending at the state and local levels. *Why have limits?* Iowans for Tax Relief explains that a vibrant economy flows from a reined-in public sector. *Why an amendment?* Because constitutional amendments are twice as effective as mere statutory requirements, says the group.

Fact Sheets, 1997
Iowans for Tax Relief
#8080301 (8 pp.)

Social Security Reform

Social Security Privatization in Britain: Key Lessons for America's Reformers

by Louis D. Enoff and Robert E. Moffit

Many young Americans doubt that the U.S. Social Security system will support them in their retirement. In Britain, by contrast, workers enjoy a treasure trove of private pension funds and are building solid nest eggs for their futures. The reason? British law permits employees to invest a portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement plans. The successful British experiment gives reformers in the United States a wealth of information to draw upon as they go about the urgent task of assuring a solid and prosperous retirement for future generations of Americans.

Backgrounder, August 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#8078422 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#8078423 (part 2, 13 pp.)
#8078424 (part 3, 13 pp.)

A Brief Guide to Social Security Reform

by Daniel J. Mitchell

The U.S. Social Security system is facing a crisis of alarming proportions. Without Social Security reform the federal government will be unable to pay benefits in 15 years. The answer to this problem is to privatize the Social Security system. Several countries have instituted programs allowing workers to opt out of government plans in favor of private plans. These programs have met with spectacular results. Privatization of the Social Security system will assure American workers higher levels of income and greater security in their retirement years.

Talking Points, August 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#8078305 (9 pp.)

A Consumer's Checklist for Social Security Reform Plans

by Stuart Butler

What should be embodied in a proper reform of Social Security? Among the most important elements are better return on investment, clear benefits, protection from risks, and safety for existing beneficiaries.

FYI, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#8078415 (7 pp.)

Social Security Privatization: One Proposal

by David Altig and Jagadeesh Gokhale

If it is to be politically viable, any proposal for Social Security privatization must ensure that all participants will be at least as well off under the new program as under the current system. A plan that privatizes 46 percent of the Social Security contribution paid by workers 32 years of age and younger meets this test. But the window of opportunity for adopting such a reform is narrow, and delay could result in a collapse of the system.

Social Security Privatization, May 1997
Cato Institute
#8078416 (12 pp.)

Creating a Better Social Security System for America

by Daniel J. Mitchell

Social Security payroll taxes have been increased 17 times in 40 years; investment in private instruments would yield workers three times the return promised by the Social Security system. With the current Social Security system, the country faces a fiscal problem that makes the current national debt look like peanuts—yet politicians seem unwilling even to consider real reform.

Backgrounder, April 1997
The Heritage Foundation
#8078417 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#8078418 (part 2, 13 pp.)
#8078419 (part 3, 13 pp.)

Mrs. Colehill Thanks God for Private Social Security

by Stephen Glass

When Social Security was established in 1935, a loophole allowed states and municipalities to exempt their employees. The loophole was closed in 1983—but not before three counties in eastern Texas withdrew from Social Security and established their own private retirement system. For Wendy Colehill, whose 38-year-old husband worked for one of those Texas counties, the loophole meant the difference between the $126,000 she received after her husband died in a car accident, and the $255 she would have received from Social Security.

Institute Brief, June 1997
Public Interest Institute
#8078110 (2 pp.)

How We Privatized Social Security in Chile

by José Piñera

Two years after privatization, more than 90 percent of workers had opted out of Chile's government-run social security system. That should come as little surprise, since the privatized system offers real rates of return 50 to 100 percent higher than what is offered by the government program.

The Freeman, July 1997
Foundation for Economic Education
#8078111 (4 pp.)

Common Objections to a Market-Based Social Security System

by Melissa Hieger and William Shipman

The authors address objections to Social Security privatization that are based on misunderstandings of how financial markets work. They contend that, under a private retirement system, even low-wage workers would be likely to receive benefits 100 percent higher than they will realize under the government-run Social Security system. With that in mind, they ask, is the populist illusion of "progressivity" in the current system worth substantially lower returns for all retirees?

Report, 1997
Cato Institute
#8078304 (news release, 1 p.)
#8078420 (part 1, 14 pp.)
#8078421 (notes, 14 pp.)

Why Social Security Should Be Privatized

by Harvey Rosenblum

Privatization is the only reasonable reform of the U.S. Social Security system. Americans cannot afford to maintain the "pay as you go" form of Social Security. Moreover, the current system is hugely unfair, serving as a mechanism for transferring wealth from households with two wage earners to households with a single wage earner.

Southwest Economy, May/June 1997
Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas
#8078109 (6 pp.)

Automobiles

Curb Rights: Eliciting Competition and Entrepreneurship in Urban Transit

by Daniel B. Klein, Adrian T. Moore, and Binyam Reja

Competition among scheduled public transit carriers and free-roaming jitneys can destroy curbside markets for in-city transportation. By creating loading-zone property rights, a community can take advantage of the pluses offered by scheduled transit routes and the flexibility of free-wheeling jitney entrepreneurs.

The Independent Review, Summer 1997
The Independent Institute
#8152412 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#8152413 (part 2, 13 pp.)

Congestion Pricing: Traffic and the Market

by John Semmens

Could a modern plaza-less toll system reduce peak-hour traffic and turn highways into profit centers? The answer would seem to be yes. Today, 60 percent or more of peak-period trips are *not* work-related, and it is likely that a congestion-pricing system would encourage many of those drivers to make their trips during off-peak periods. Such a pricing system would be relatively easy to implement with electronic toll-taking technology.

The Pragmatist, June 1997
#8105129 (3 pp.)

Will Minivans Become an Endangered Species?

by Eric Peters and H. Sterling Burnett

Despite the fact that larger vehicles are safer in collisions, efforts are afoot to raise corporate average fuel economy (CAFE) standards to 40mpg. Increasing the standard will require more vehicle downsizing, which will mean more fatalities—especially among children.

Brief Analysis, June 1997
National Center for Policy Analysis
#8105307 (2 pp.)

Airbags: Benefits and Risks

by John D. Graham and Maria Segui-Gomez

Because of the high risk to children, the case for passenger-side airbags is not as convincing as that for driver-side bags. *Did you know* that 40 percent of all airbag deployments result in injury to a car's occupants?

Risk in Perspective, July 1997
Harvard Center for Risk Analysis
#8105130 (4 pp.)

Mass Transit

Purple Logic: Fate of "Purple People Movers" Is Bad Omen for Public Transit

by Jeffry Flake and Robert Franciosi

In an attempt to reduce downtown congestion by encouraging residents to leave their cars at home, the city of Phoenix, Arizona, offered free reconditioned bicycles painted purple for all to use for downtown transportation. Most of the bicycles vanished (not surprisingly) within months of their introduction. The same people who, with the best of intentions, gave Phoenix its purple people movers now want to spend $4 billion to resurrect its failing urban transit system.

Perspective, May 1997
Goldwater Institute
#8152112(2 pp.)

Is Paying Higher Taxes for Public Transit a Good Idea?

by Roy Miller

Mass transit in Phoenix offers its riders long travel times, unproductive waits, and uncomfortable rides. The system is 75 percent subsidized—and accounts for just 1 percent of total urban travel in the city. A proposal to "improve" the system, at a cost of $4 billion, would increase the system's share of urban travel to just 2 percent.

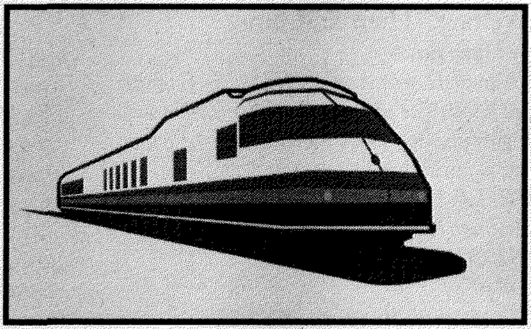
Perspective, May 1997
Goldwater Institute
#8152113 (2 pp.)

Rubber Tire Transit: A Viable Alternative to Rail

by Thomas A. Rubin and James E. Moore II

When talking mass transit, visions of rail lines dance in the heads of urban planners. Too often overlooked are the benefits of various forms of bus transit traveling in high-occupancy vehicle lanes. Less flashy than rail, busways can provide ten times the utilization at less than one-fifth the capital cost per mile.

Policy Study, August 1997
Reason Public Policy Institute
#8152303 (news release, 3 pp.)
#8152414 (part 1, 9 pp.)
#8152415 (part 2, 9 pp.)
#8152416 (part 3, 15 pp.)



Twelve Ways to Keep the Valley Moving Without Expanding Public Transit

by John Semmens

City planners seem as besotted with the notion of expanding public transit as they are with acquiring sports teams. Noted transportation economist John Semmens examines several traffic reduction/air quality improvement ideas, concluding that enhanced public transit options are by far the *least* cost-effective methods of achieving those goals.

Arizona Issue Analysis, August 1997
Goldwater Institute
#8152417 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#8152418 (part 2, 17 pp.)

How Rent Control Drives Out Affordable Housing
by William Tucker

While rent control is supposed to protect tenants and maintain affordable housing, in reality it subsidizes high-paid professionals at the expense of newcomers and the poor. A comparison of the rental housing stock in rent-controlled versus control-free cities shows clearly that rent controls result in a deteriorating stock of rental units.

Policy Analysis, May 1997
Cato Institute
#9232408 (part 1, 15 pp.)
#9232409 (part 2, 14 pp.)
#9232410 (part 3, 15 pp.)

The Rocky Road to Privatizing Welfare
by Penelope Lemov

The federal Department of Health and Human Services recently ruled that only government employees are permitted to determine eligibility for welfare programs. While that ruling has made welfare program innovation at the state level more difficult, the states continue to press ahead with privatization initiatives.

Governing, July 1997
Congressional Quarterly Inc.
#9265105 (2 pp.)

In the States

Evaluating Comprehensive State Welfare Reforms: An Overview
by Thomas Kaplan

Social scientists are having a difficult time evaluating the effects of welfare reform, because they simply can't get a handle on the number and variety of initiatives being undertaken.

Focus, Spring 1997
Institute for Research on Poverty
#9275113 (4 pp.)

Welfare, Then and Now
by Kristin Becker

Preliminary results of federal welfare reform are in: Welfare caseloads are decreasing at such high rates that even the architects of reform are astonished.

FYI, July 1997
American Legislative Exchange Council
#9200112 (3 pp.)

Welfare Reform in California
by Eloise Anderson

One of the big holes in the current welfare system is its tendency to treat men as extraneous. Eloise Anderson, director of the California Department of Social Services, warns that welfare reform is doomed to failure unless mechanisms can be found to encourage men to stay with their families.

Dialogue, August 1997
Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research
#9275203 (6 pp.)

New Mexico Children, Youth, and Families Department: Heather Wilson Remarks

While New Mexico is building new correctional facilities, the head of the New Mexico Children, Youth, and Families Department acknowledges that those facilities are only a part of the solution to juvenile crime. Wilson contends that mentoring by responsible adults can make a crucial difference in the life of a young offender.

Remarks, May 1997
State of New Mexico
#9275202 (5 pp.)

New Mexico Children, Youth, and Families Department Annual Report

Trying to make child care affordable through three levels of licensing, addressing child abuse reports (which have doubled since 1990), and improving early intervention with delinquents are centerpieces of the New Mexico Children, Youth, and Families Department's three major initiatives.

Annual Report, 1997
State of New Mexico
#9275415 (part 1, 13 pp.)
#9275416 (part 2, 15 pp.)

Welfare Works: Virginia's Personal Responsibility Renaissance

Virginia was an early innovator in the welfare reform movement. Now, two years into the state's new welfare program, caseloads—once growing at 8 percent per year—are down 31 percent, and 70 percent of the state's welfare recipients are working for their benefits.

Annual Report Preview, 1997
State of Virginia
#9275417 (14 pp.)

Let Charity Begin at Home: A Tax Credit Approach to Welfare Funding in Pennsylvania
by Peter S. Barwick

While we should applaud recent efforts to reform the welfare system, much more needs to be done. For example, private charity that actually cares about the welfare recipient is a far more effective method of addressing poverty than any government program. By giving businesses and individuals tax credits for contributions to private charities, those charities can be encouraged to grow and eventually restored to their former prominence in the welfare system.

Study, May 1997
The Commonwealth Foundation
#9727428 (part 1, 11 pp.)
#9272429 (part 2, 11 pp.)
#9272430 (part 3, 14 pp.)
#9272431 (part 4, 13 pp.)

Breaking the Welfare Cycle
by Robert Rector

A guiding light for national welfare reform, Wisconsin's AFDC caseload continues to drop 3 percent per month. But even though work requirements are largely responsible for Wisconsin's success, the Clinton administration is using the Fair Labor Standards Act to scuttle "workfare" reforms.

National Review, June 1997
#9200111 (3 pp.)

Contacts

American Automobile
Manufacturers Association
1401 H Street NW #900
Washington, DC 20005
202/326-5500; fax 202/326-5567

American Council on Science and Health
1995 Broadway–2nd Floor
New York, NY 10023-5860
212/362-7044; fax 212/362-4919;
e-mail acsh@acsh.org http://www.acsh.org

American Institute for Economic Research
P.O. Box 1000, Great Barrington, MA 01230
413/528-1216; fax 413/528-0103;
e-mail aier@world.std.com

American Legislative Exchange Council
910 17th Street NW–5th Floor
Washington, DC 20006
202/466-3800; fax 202/466-3801

American Meteorological Society
45 Beacon Street, Boston, MA 02108
617/227-2425

Association of Trial Lawyers of America
1050 31st Street NW
Washington, DC 20007 202/965-3500

Beacon Hill Institute
for Public Policy Research
Suffolk University, 8 Ashburton Place
Boston, MA 02108-2270
617/573-8750; fax 617/720-4272;
e-mail bhi@beaconhill.org

The Brookings Institution
1775 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20036
800/275-1447; fax 202/797-6004

The Buckeye Institute
for Public Policy Solutions
131 North Ludlow Street #317
Dayton, OH 45402 937/224-8352;
fax 937/224-8457; e-mail BuckeyeIns@aol.com

Campaigns & Elections
1511 K Street NW #1020
Washington, DC 20005 202/638-7788

Capital Research Center
1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036
202/393-2600; fax 202/393-2626;
e-mail 74157.1070@compuserve.com

Cato Institute
1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20001 202/842-0200;
fax 202/842-3490; e-mail cato@cato.org

Center for Equal Opportunity
815 15th Street NW #928
Washington, DC 20005
202/693-0803; fax 202/639-0827

Center for the Study of American Business
Washington University
One Brookings Drive–Box 1208
St. Louis, MO 63130-4899
314/935-5630; fax 314/935-5688;
e-mail warren@csab.wustl.edu

Center of the American Experiment
12 South Sixth Street #1024
Minneapolis, MN 55402 612/338-3605;
fax 612/338-3621; e-mail amexp@amexp.org

Chlorine Chemistry Council
1300 Wilson Boulevard, Arlington, VA 22209
703/741-5827; fax 703/741-6827

Citizens for a Sound Economy Foundation
1250 H Street NW #700
Washington, DC 20005-3908
202/783-3870; fax 202/783-4687;
e-mail cse@cse.org

The Commonwealth Foundation
for Public Policy Alternatives
3544 North Progress Avenue #101
Harrisburg, PA 17110
717/671-1901; fax 717/671-1905

Competitive Enterprise Institute
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #1250,
Washington, DC 20036 202/331-1010;
fax 202/331-0640; e-mail info@cei.org

Congressional Quarterly Inc.
1100 Connecticut Avenue NW #1300,
Washington, DC 20036 202/862-8802

Drug Policy Foundation
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW
#B-500, Washington, DC 20008
202/537-5005; fax 202/537-3007

Eagle Trust Fund
P.O. Box 618, Alton, IL 62002
e-mail eagle@eagleforum.org

Environmental Conservation
Organization (eco)
P.O. Box 191, Hollow Rock, TN 38342
901/986-0099; fax 901/986-2299

Environmental Working Group
1718 Connecticut Avenue NW #600
Washington, DC 20009 202/667-6982;
fax 202/232-2592; e-mail info@ewg.org

Ethan Allen Institute
RFD 1, Box 43, Concord VT 05824-9505
802/695-1448; fax 802/695-1448;
e-mail ethallen@plainfield.bypass.com

Family Research Council
801 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20001
202/393-2100; fax 202/393-2134;
e-mail frc@sojourn.com

Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas
Public Affairs Department, P.O. Box 655906
Dallas, TX 75265-5906 214/922-5257

The Federation for American
Immigration Reform
1666 Connecticut Avenue NW #400
Washington, DC 20009
202/328-7004; fax 202/387-3447

The Foundation for Economic Education
30 South Broadway Irvington-on-Hudson,
NY 10533 914/591-7230; fax 914/591-8910;
e-mail freeman@westnet.com

The Fraser Institute
626 Bute Street–2nd Floor
Vancouver, BC Canada V6E 3M1
604/688-0221; fax 604/688-8539

Goldwater Institute
201 North Central Avenue
Phoenix, AZ 85004
602/256-7018; fax 602/256-7045;
e-mail goldwat@soho.ios.com

Grove City College
100 Campus Dr., Grove City, PA 16127-2104

Harvard Center for Risk Analysis
Harvard School of Public Health
718 Huntington Avenue
Boston, MA 02115 617/432-4497

The Heartland Institute
800 East Northwest Highway #1080
Palatine, IL 60067 847/202-3060;
fax 847/202-9799; e-mail think@heartland.org

The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue NE
Washington, DC 20002 202/546-4400;
fax 202/546-8328; e-mail info@heritage.org

Hudson Institute
P.O. Box 26-919, Indianapolis, IN 46226
317/545-1000; fax 317/545-9639

Illinois Municipal League
P.O. Box 5180, Springfield, IL 62705-5180

Independence Institute
14142 Denver West Parkway #185
Golden, CO 80401 303/279-6536;
fax 303/279-4176; e-mail tomtank@aol.com

The Independent Institute
134 98th Avenue, Oakland, CA 94603
510/632-1366; fax 510/568-6040;
e-mail independ@dnai.com

Institute for Justice
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200
Washington, DC 20006
202/955-1300; fax 202/955-1329

Institute for Research on Poverty
University of Wisconsin–Madison
1180 Observatory Drive, Madison, WI 53706
608/262-6358; fax 608/265-3119
http://www.ssc.wisc.edu/irp

Iowans for Tax Relief
P.O. Box 747, 2610 Park Avenue
Muscatine, IA 52761
319/264-8080; 800/334-8920

The John Locke Foundation
1304 Hillsborough Street
Raleigh, NC 27605 919/828-3876;
fax 919/821-5117; e-mail locke@interpath.com

LTC Incorporated
601 Union Street–22nd Floor
Seattle, WA 98101-2363 206/515-7145;
e-mail steve_moses@compuserve.com

Manhattan Institute
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017
212/599-7000; fax 212/599-3494;
e-mail dotsikas@pppmail.nyser.net

Milken Institute for
Job & Capital Formation
1250 Fourth Street–2nd Floor
Santa Monica, CA 90401-1353

National Center for Policy Analysis
12655 North Central Expressway #720,
Dallas, TX 75243-1739 972/386-6272;
fax 972/386-0924; e-mail ncpa@onramp.net

National Federal Lands Conference
P.O. Box 847, Bountiful, UT 84011
801/298-0858

National Legal Center
for the Public Interest, 1000 16th Street
NW #500, Washington, DC 20036
202/296-1683; fax 202/293-2118

National Review
215 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10016
http://www.nationalreview.com

Nevada Policy Research Institute
P.O. Box 20312, Reno, NV 89515-0312
702/786-9600; fax 702/786-9604

Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs Inc.
100 West Wilshire Boulevard #C-3
Oklahoma City, OK 73116 405/843-9212;
fax 405/843-9436; e-mail ocpathink@aol.com

Physicians for Social Responsibility
1101 Fourteenth Street NW #700
Washington, DC 20005 202/898-0150

Pioneer Institute for Public Policy Research
85 Devonshire Street, Boston, MA 02109
617/723-2277; fax 617/723-1880;
e-mail pioneer@pioneerinstitute.org
http://www.pioneerinstitute.org

Political Economy Research Center (PERC)
502 South 19th Street #211
Bozeman, MT 59715 406/587-9591;
fax 406/586-7555; e-mail perc@perc.org

The Pragmatist
Box 392, Forest Grove, PA 18922
fax 215/348-8006

The Property Rights
Foundation of America Inc.
P.O. Box 75, Stony Creek, NY 12878
518/696-5748

Public Interest Institute
600 North Jackson Street
Mt. Pleasant, IA 52641-0135
319/385-3462; fax 319/385-3799

Public Service Research Foundation
527 Maple Avenue East–3rd Floor
Vienna, VA 22180
703/242-3575; fax 703/242-3579

The READ Institute
Research in English Acquisition
and Development
P.O. Box 2428
Amherst, MA 01004-2428
413/256-0034

Reason Foundation
Reason Public Policy Institute
3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400,
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064
310/391-2245; fax 310/391-4395
http://www.reason.org

Resources for the Future
1616 P Street NW, Washington, DC 20036
202/328-5103

Tax Foundation
1250 H Street NW #750
Washington, DC 20005-3908
202/783-2760; fax 202/942-7675

Texas Public Policy Foundation
P.O. Box 40519, San Antonio, TX 78229
210/614-0080; fax 210/614-2649;
e-mail pppf@txdirect.net

Thoreau Institute
14417 SE Laurie, Oak Grove, OR 97267
503/652-7049

Washington Institute for Policy Studies
P.O. Box 24645, Seattle, WA 98124-0645
206/938-6300 (800/546-4460);
fax 206/938-6313; e-mail WIPS@wips.org

Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce
501 East Washington Avenue
P.O. Box 352, Madison, WI 53701
608/258-3400

World Climate Report
4301 Wilson Boulevard #805
Arlington, VA 22203-1860
703/907-6160; fax 703/907-6161

Account Application

call 847.202.4888

If you are not an elected official, journalist, or talk show host, you can still use PolicyFax!

Just dial 847/202-4888 and enter a credit card number instead of a *PolicyFax* account number. Your credit card will automatically be charged $5 for each document you order. You don't need to open an account to use *PolicyFax*.

PolicyFax is easier to use, however, if you open a *PolicyFax* account secured by your credit card or by advance deposit. When you open a *PolicyFax* account, your fax number is entered into our database so you don't have to re-enter it each time you call. And instead of entering a lengthy credit card number, you enter only your eight-digit *PolicyFax* account number.

To open a *PolicyFax* account, check one of the two boxes to the right and complete the form below. Opening an account does not obligate you to use *PolicyFax*.

☐ **Credit card.** I authorize The Heartland Institute to charge the credit card listed below $5 for each *PolicyFax* document ordered using my *PolicyFax* account number.

☐ **Advance deposit.** Enclosed is advance payment in the amount of $_______, to be debited $5 each time a *PolicyFax* document is ordered using my *PolicyFax* account number.

Name ______________________________

Phone ________________ Fax ________________

Title ________________ Company ________________

Street ______________________________

City, State, Zip ______________________________

I am a:

☐ Heartland Donor
☐ Librarian
☐ Lobbyist
☐ Student/Teacher
☐ Other

I authorize The Heartland Institute to charge the credit card listed to the right $5 for each *PolicyFax* document ordered using my *PolicyFax* account.

The following information must be provided.

Name on Card ______________________________

Card Number ________________ Card Type ________________

Expiration ________________ Signature ________________

Fax this completed application to 847/202-9799, or mail it to The Heartland Institute, 800 East Northwest Highway, Suite 1080, Palatine, Illinois 60067.

Uncovered

Who's the Rich Special Interest Now?

R. Hegblom & C. Martin

Hegblom is a research associate at the Capital Research Center. Martin was a CRC Summer Fellow at the Charles G. Koch Foundation.

According to Senator John McCain, "The American people are cynical . . . money seems to be the determinant factor in the selection of our public servants." Many politicians and "public interest" groups agree. They say wealthy special interests spend big money to drown out the voice of the ordinary citizen, and they argue that private campaign contributions must be restricted to restore the public's trust in elections. But do the reformers want to make elections more fair . . . or do they want to distort the process against the free market?

Campaign finance reform may seem like a bipartisan idea. But advocacy groups like Citizen Action and Public Campaign see reform as a way to disarm those who have prospered in a free society, while giving ammunition to the tax-and-spenders who depend on public coffers.

Public Campaign, which wants campaigns to be paid for by taxpayers, is clear about its bias: "Community organizations, constituency groups, and issue advocates will never be able to raise as much money as groups representing wealthy special interests and the status quo. . . . In the 1995-96 election cycle, groups and individuals representing business interests outspent labor by seven to one. . . . [O]f the 1,179 PACs that gave $20,000 or more to members of Congress during the 1993-94 election cycle, none represented the millions of Americans who are poor, or parents of public school children, or victimized by toxic dumping or agri-chemical contamination. . . ." In other words, Public Campaign wants public welfare for liberal politicians.

> *Do campaign finance reformers want to make elections more fair . . . or to distort the process against the free market?*

A 1976 Supreme Court decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, has been a major obstacle for the campaign finance reformers. *Buckley* declared unconstitutional any law limiting an individuals' financial contributions to his own campaign. And it permits unlimited campaign spending by persons and groups that act independently of a candidate.

According to the director of New York University's Brennan Center for Justice, E. Joshua Rosencranz, *Buckley* means "that . . . a Perot or Huffington has an absolute right to buy his way into office. It means a fat cat has an absolute right to saturate the air waves with a message advocating for or against a candidate." Rosencranz rightly notes that it is absurd to limit corporate and individual contributions when candidates themselves and independent organizations can spend as much as they want. But instead of supporting the bill introduced by Rep. John Doolittle (R-California) to repeal all laws limiting contributions and expenditures, Rosencranz wants the Supreme Court to be guided by a purely subjective question, "Will this law enhance the public's perception that elected officials cast votes based on their principles, not their purses?" Interpretation: the Supreme Court should second-guess candidates' "principles."

Advocacy groups like Citizen Action and the Center for Responsive Politics support legislation to overturn *Buckley* because they understand what is at stake. So do nonprofit special interest groups like the Gray Panthers, Environmental Defense Fund, Children's Defense Fund, Rainbow Coalition, American Association of Retired Persons, and Sierra Club. All have declared their support for the cause of campaign finance reform. They understand that by limiting the rights of citizens to contribute to campaigns, they reduce the election chances of candidates who represent profitable interests in society.

In 1996 foundations and advocacy groups spent millions of dollars on state ballot initiatives to limit campaign spending. Voters in California had a choice between two propositions. The successful Proposition 208, supported by Common Cause and the League of Women Voters, put spending and contribution limits on statewide candidates. Proposition 212, backed by CalPIRG, would have banned all corporate contributions to state campaigns while leaving a loophole for union gifts by "citizen contribution committees." It lost even though the National Education Association provided an estimated $600,000 for CalPIRG's $2 million campaign. In Maine, the League of Women Voters spent $240,000, most of it from out-of-state foundations, to support a bill providing public financing and free television time to candidates who voluntarily limit their spending.

Minnesota's Senator Paul Wellstone, author of a plan modeled on the Maine law, has observed that "Unless we take big money out of politics . . . our historic drive for economic justice will be diverted, and frustrated, and ultimately denied." It is no coincidence that those like him who oppose free enterprise should be cavalier with First Amendment freedoms.

Ironically, the amount of money and influence wielded by the campaign finance reformers shows how accessible and open our current political system really is. But if the reformers get their way, only their voice will be heard.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Money, Politics, and the First Amendment
by Major Garrett
The point of campaign finance reform should be to reduce the power of special interest PACs by repealing limits on individual campaign contributions. (Cato Institute 1997, 11 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #2815403

Robert Rector

Robert Rector is a
welfare expert at
The Heritage Foundation.

Welfare Reform Deception

Even as President Clinton brags about getting 1.4 million people off welfare, his administration is gutting the very welfare reform that accomplished that amazing feat.

That's right. Only a year after reluctantly signing the first serious reform of America's welfare system—a reform crafted by congressional conservatives—the Clinton White House has stampeded Congress into sabotaging it.

Make no mistake: the budget deal just passed by Congress and signed by the president represents the most decisive liberal victory in welfare policy in thirty years. It overturns not only last year's welfare reform successes, but all the conservative gains on the issue of workfare since 1981. Simply put, it re-creates the liberal status quo Americans have correctly diagnosed as counterproductive.

The key to reducing welfare dependency and increasing self-sufficiency is to require welfare recipients to perform community service work (such as cleaning parks) in exchange for the welfare benefits they already receive. This is called "workfare."

Once welfare recipients are no longer guaranteed a free income from welfare, but must earn their benefits by performing community service work, the vast majority will quickly leave welfare and take private-sector jobs. States following this strategy, such as Wisconsin and Wyoming, have reduced their welfare caseloads by 30 to 50 percent in the last year alone.

Liberals thus view workfare as a serious threat to the growth of the welfare industry. President Clinton has responded to this threat by outlawing workfare behind the scenes, while praising its success in public.

In May, with little fanfare, the administration issued regulations that prohibited states from operating normal workfare programs. Instead, if states wish to make welfare recipients work, they must hire them into public-sector jobs with government- or union-scale wages.

This opens a host of troubles for states wishing to operate simple, straightforward workfare. Under the new requirements, "jobs" will be subject to 25 separate federal labor laws that, among other things, guarantee that welfare recipients will be covered by standard government personnel rules on hiring, firing, and discipline and will be provided with retirement benefits and unemployment insurance. In addition, many welfare recipients will automatically become members of public-sector unions.

The effects of Clinton's regulations are devastating. For example, if New York City wished to have welfare recipients help clean the public schools, the city would be forced to pay the recipients $20 per hour. Since the city obviously cannot afford to do this, the bottom line is simple: No welfare recipients will be required to work. Workfare is effectively shut down. The same is true across the country.

So far, the Republican Congress has failed to seriously challenge Clinton's assault on workfare. Congress did include provisions partially overturning his anti-work regulations in last month's Budget Reconciliation Act—but these were quickly dropped when Clinton threatened to veto the bill. Thus far, Congress has completely capitulated to the White House's demolition of last year's welfare reform law.

Why does the Clinton administration wish to abolish the very workfare programs that have proven to be most successful in reducing dependence? Because workfare presents welfare recipients with a choice liberals feel is unfair: Work for benefits or get a real job. Liberals believe that welfare recipients are the victims of social injustice. To make them work only exacerbates that injustice. Thus, liberals have opposed realistic work programs for nearly thirty years.

> *The budget deal just passed by Congress and signed by the president represents the most decisive liberal victory in welfare policy in thirty years.*

But the truth is that *dependence*, not work, is harmful to the recipients of welfare. The very workfare programs that President Clinton seeks to outlaw are critical to building a spirit of self-sufficiency that benefits the recipients, taxpayers, and society as a whole.

Meanwhile, this year, welfare spending will hit $412 billion—5 percent of the total U.S. economy. And by 2002, welfare spending will reach $532 billion. Over the next decade, the United States will spend $5 trillion on welfare, or roughly $50,000 for each taxpaying household in the country.

The Clinton administration's regulations redefining workfare are a clear violation of both the letter and the intent of last year's popular welfare legislation. The American people don't yet understand what has happened. But when they do, it's difficult to say who they will be most angry with: the president, who cynically gutted welfare reform even as he was praising it; or lawmakers in Congress, who allowed him to do it.

Congressional leaders should enact legislation that clarifies the meaning of "workfare" and restore welfare reform before it's too late.

Available on ***PolicyFax***

Busting the Welfare Bureaucracy
To really help people get off welfare, a bottom-up revolution, starting at the county or municipal level, will be needed. (*Governing* 1997, 5 pp.)

Call 847/202-4888
Request document #9272425

ISTEA: A Poisonous Brew for Urban Transport

by Randal O'Toole

Will American mobility continue to increase in the twenty-first century, or will we get bogged down by a cumbersome central planning process that simply creates congestion and gridlock in our cities? That is the question posed by the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA), passed in 1991 and up for reauthorization this year.

A better title for the law might be the "Urban Immobility and Pork Barrel Act." It creates enormous incentives for major urban areas to promote congestion and waste gas taxes on pork barrel projects.

A major device for creating congestion is the construction of expensive rail transit. Rails increase congestion because they carry so few people and divert funds from activities that could genuinely improve traffic flows. Light rail is a nineteenth-century technology that is slow (averaging 20 miles per hour), inconvenient, and expensive. Even Washington, DC's well-developed but expensive rail and bus transit network moves less than 14 percent of all commuters.

Portland, Oregon, is often touted as a model for urban planning and transportation. Yet its light rail line is a failure, carrying less than half the people originally projected by planners. Since the light rail went into operation, transit's share of weekday Portland traffic has significantly declined. Portland planners "have stopped trying to ease traffic congestion," reported National Public Radio's "All Things Considered" recently. "Instead, they are embracing congestion; they want to create more of it."

Portland planners have developed a long-term plan that will triple congestion over current levels.

They are succeeding. The Texas Transportation Institute's annual report on urban congestion indicates that congestion in Portland is increasing faster than in any other western city. Portland planners have developed a long-term plan for the region which, they quietly predict, will triple congestion over current levels.

Why would anyone want more congestion? Supporters of immobility fall into four distinct groups:

- Central city officials, who (a) see immobility as a way to discourage people from living in the suburbs and (b) see rail transit as a way of getting federal pork;

- Urban environmentalists, who wish the automobile had never been invented;

- Urban planners, who think they know best how people should live, work, and move around and want to impose their ideas on everyone else; and

- Downtown business interests, who think that imposing congestion on the suburbs will return customers to downtown shopping districts.

ISTEA encourages the supporters of immobility in several ways. First, it allows the diversion of federal gasoline taxes into mass transit. Since rail transit makes better pork barrel than buses, most of the dollars are going into rail.

Second, ISTEA discourages or even forbids cities that fail to meet EPA air quality standards from expanding roadway capacity. This is ironic, as slower cars pollute more, making congestion a major source of air pollution.

ISTEA also imposes on cities a central planning process that has given supporters of immobility the upper hand in allocating transportation dollars. While they pacify auto drivers with rhetoric about easing congestion, they spend highway dollars on so-called "traffic calming" measures, such as concrete barriers and narrower lanes, that increase congestion by forcing cars to slow down.

The Department of Transportation uses ISTEA funds to encourage cities to adopt the "New Urban" planning philosophy, which promotes nineteenth-century, high-density housing. Portland, for example, is re-zoning large areas of the city for row houses and multi-family dwellings while discouraging or forbidding construction of homes on large lots. New Urban densities are supposed to promote transit, but all they really do is create more congestion, since high-density residents still drive most of the time.

You might applaud these efforts if you think that we should try to get people onto transit. The problem is, they don't even achieve that goal. In Portland, planners want to spend billions of dollars building ninety miles of light rail, increase population densities by 70 percent, and impose "traffic calming" on many major roads and streets. Yet Portland planners predict that all of these things will reduce the share of trips taken by car from 92 percent to 88 percent. The share riding transit will remain under 5 percent.

Urban transportation is essentially a local issue, not a federal one. The solution is to take the federal government out of the transportation funding process.

A proposal offered by Senator Connie Mack and Representative John Kasich comes closest to doing this. It would eliminate most of the federal gas tax and let cities and states plan and finance their own transportation systems. If that happened, many cities would come to their senses and plan for the twenty-first century rather than the nineteenth.

◆

Randal O'Toole is an economist and executive director of the Thoreau Institute in Oak Grove, Oregon, a suburb of Portland.

Repulsing a Rapacious Government

by Sheldon Rose

What does a peaceful citizen do when a predator attempts to steal his valuable property? Why, call the police, of course. Isn't that why we have government in the first place—to protect our lives and property?

So why didn't my family business seek government's help when our property was being outrageously looted? Simply because the looting was being done by the very government that owed us the duty of protection!

In 1987 the City of Lansing, Michigan, exercising its powers of eminent domain, condemned cable television wiring rights in two family-owned apartment projects with over 1500 dwelling units. The condemnation was to enable the Lansing cable television franchisee, Continental Cablevision, to wire the projects and market its cable services to our tenants. So what's wrong with providing 1500 households with access to cable TV?

I have discovered a new natural law, simple but ominous: "Whatever powers government has, government will abuse."

Not a thing . . . except that the apartments were already served by a cable television system we provided, comparable in every way to the system offered by Continental. Our cable system gathers satellite signals from dishes and offers quality viewing to our tenants.

Before 1987, cable television was provided for our tenants at both apartment complexes by Continental. When the contract expired, we canceled it and installed our own cable TV system. Continental, having lost our lucrative business, embarked on a new strategy. Using its considerable influence with Lansing's politicians, Continental induced the city to adopt an ordinance giving the city the right to condemn easements across private property in which its cable franchisee could string its wires.

The Michigan Court of Appeals unanimously concluded that Lansing's condemnation was attempted theft.

In response to Lansing's condemnation suit to acquire wiring rights to our 1500 apartment units, we asserted a legal defense arguing that there was no necessity for a duplicate cable TV system. The city acknowledged that it couldn't take our property without paying for it, and offered us $2,000. We were prepared to present expert testimony in court to the effect that the wiring rights were worth as much as $2 *million*.

After a lengthy and expensive condemnation battle in the circuit court, the matter was heard by a three-judge panel in the Michigan Court of Appeals, where—if you can believe it—the court unanimously concluded that the condemnation was *attempted theft*.

Had we finally won this battle? Not quite. We spent another couple of years in the Michigan Supreme Court, where the matter was again decided emphatically in our favor. From their reactions to the oral testimony, I had the distinct impression that the justices regarded Lansing's attempted expropriation of valuable wiring rights to be as outrageous as the appeals court did.

The legal battle was exhausting and expensive. We spent more than a million dollars (not including interest) in legal fees, appraisers, expert witnesses, court costs, and the like.

It was somewhat gratifying, though, that the courts ordered Lansing to pay us back about $840,000. Still, the net cost to us after that refund (exclusive of the years of grief and aggravation and the immense amount of company staff time the defense demanded) was over $500,000.

Lansing's arrogance and chutzpah were exceptional. In its haste to deliver a rich jackpot to Continental, it neglected to provide us any protection whatsoever from the impending plunder of our apartment communities. Continental was to be given the absolute right to enter our property at its convenience and place its wires wherever it pleased, including hanging them on the faces of the buildings, in the hallways, and on the walls of individual apartments. Continental wasn't required to give us notice; it could wire at midnight and disrupt the tenants at any hour; it could rip holes in the attic draft stops and compromise our buildings' fire safety.

In the absence of a voluntary contract between us and the cable company, the latter had no incentive to be the least considerate of our tenants or our property—especially in this situation, since we had been in a pitched battle with Continental for many years.

So, weary and punch-drunk after a decade of fending off a predacious government and a powerful corporation, I've begun to contemplate just how easy it is for governments to become despotic and abuse their authority. Arbitrary, excessive, and pointless government intervention seems to be the invidious pattern in modern America. With that thought and our own experience fresh in my mind, I have discovered a new natural law, simple but ominous: "Whatever powers government has, government will abuse."

Is there a way to confront this threat? I can think of only one: Deprive government of all powers except those absolutely essential for the protection of the life, liberty, and property of its citizens.

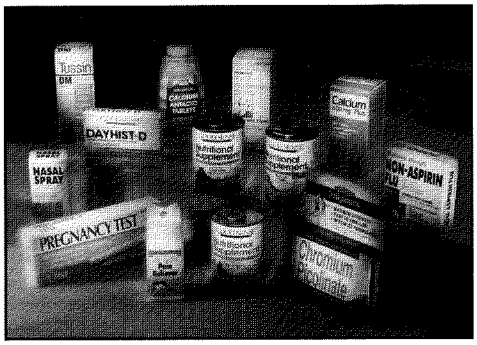
❖

Sheldon Rose is general partner of Edward Rose & Sons in Farmington Hills, Michigan.

Our first health care reform act was in 1887.

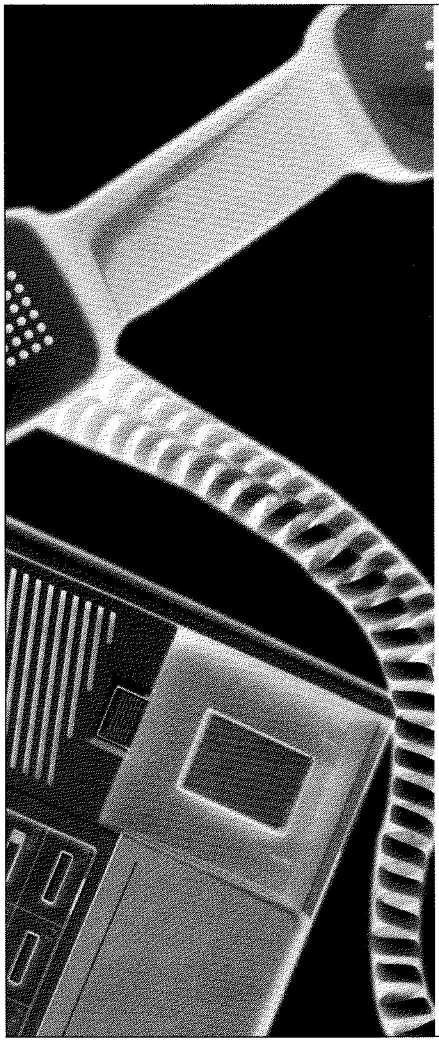
That's when Perrigo began offering high-quality, lower-cost alternatives to more expensive "medicines" of the day. Today, Perrigo is the nation's leading producer of store brand over-the-counter pharmaceutical, personal care and nutritional products. Store brands — those sold under a retailer's own name — are comparable in quality and effectiveness to national brands, but cost up to 40 percent less. Those savings, combined with trends toward self-medication and the inclusion of OTC's in treatment regimens by health care providers, can have a significant impact on reducing the cost of health care.

For more information on the role of store brand OTC's in health care, or on other issues related to store brand quality and value, contact the Perrigo Company.



PERRIGO®

117 Water Street/Allegan, Michigan 49010/Government Affairs Office: (616) 673-9700



How to Use *PolicyFax*

PolicyFax–The Heartland Institute's pathbreaking fax-on-demand information service–gives you instant access to over 4,000 documents from nearly 250 public policy research groups. *PolicyFax* puts the world's largest public policy library as close as your touch-tone phone and fax machine!

***You don't need a computer to use* PolicyFax.** To have a document sent instantly to your fax machine, follow these steps:

1. Dial **847/202-4888** from a touch-tone phone and listen for the greeting.
2. Press "1" if you are an elected official or journalist. Press "2" if you are not.
3. Follow the voice prompts to place an order using your *PolicyFax* account number or credit card.
4. Follow the voice prompts to enter the seven-digit number for the document you wish to order. Wait for the prompt, then enter the number for the next document you wish to order. You may order up to three documents in a single call.
5. When prompted, enter your fax number, or press "1" to confirm your fax number.
6. Hang up. Your documents will be faxed to you in a few minutes.

PolicyFax is free for elected officials and journalists who use their *PolicyFax* account numbers. For other users, there is a charge of $5 a document.

Questions? Call 847/202-3060.

Excerpt

Climate Change 95: An Appraisal

by Vincent Gray M.A., Ph.D.

On September 10, The Heartland Institute released Heartland Policy Study #84, "Climate Change 95: An Appraisal," by Dr. Vincent Gray. The 24-page report is available from The Heartland Institute for $10. It is also available on the World Wide Web at **http://www.heartland.org**.

Last year, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) released *Climate Change 1995: The Science of Climate Change*, a 572-page report presenting the current state of scientific knowledge on global warming. The report is widely cited as proof of a "scientific consensus" on the need for immediate action to prevent global warming. Dr. Vincent Gray, who serves on the IPCC's peer review panel, contends that *Climate Change 95* is badly flawed and ultimately provides no evidence to support drastic measures to control greenhouse gas emissions.

1. *Climate Change 95* is imprecise in its measurements and unscientific in its terminology.

Those accustomed to seeing scientific data presented using measures of precision—such as *mean* and *standard deviation*—will be disappointed with *Climate Change 95*, which is laden with such imprecise and unscientific terms as *estimate* (including *best estimate*), *guess* (including *best guess*), *tend towards, could be largely due to,* and *essentially the same as.* This lack of precision makes it easier to exaggerate the extent of climate change, and to claim unjustified agreement of climate data with computer models.

Climate Change 95 also shows evidence of a retreat from *consensus*: a term that belongs in the realm of politics, not science. *Climate Change 90* stated that some scientists "formed a minority opinion which could not be reconciled with the larger consensus." In *Climate Change 95*, by contrast, there is no mention of "consensus," and some critics are given a fair hearing.

2. *Climate Change 95* distorts carbon dioxide emission and atmospheric concentration data.

The concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, its variability, and its rate of increase are fundamental to the greenhouse effect. Yet there is no paragraph, let alone a chapter, in *Climate Change 95* addressing the emission of carbon dioxide by the combustion of fossil fuels.

In its 1993 report, the IPCC listed 69 sets of figures for monthly mean concentrations of atmospheric carbon dioxide from measurement stations around the world. Yet for *Climate Change 95* it insists on selecting only two of these, at Mauna Loa (Hawaii) and the South Pole. No explanation is offered for the IPCC's failure to use global mean figures supplied by the U.S. National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration Climate Monitoring and Diagnostics Laboratory.

The global average CO_2 concentration increased from about 340ppm in 1981 to 358ppm in 1994, an increase of about 5.3 percent in 14 years. During the 1980s, the average annual change in global average CO_2 concentration was about 0.4 percent. The average annual change from 1990 to 1994 was about 0.3 percent. Yet nearly all of the computer climate models relied on by the IPCC assume that, starting in the year 1990, carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will increase by 1 percent per year. This is 2-1/2 times the measured rate of carbon dioxide increases in the 1980s and 3 times the rate in the 1990s.

The exaggerated rates of change in carbon dioxide assumed by the models have important consequences. It seems to be universally believed by the media that carbon dioxide in the atmosphere will double "by the middle of the next century" (1 percent a year compounded gives 70 years). But the 1980s' rate of 0.4 percent would double in 174 years, if compounded, or 250 years if linear. If the average for the past decade persists, it will take 226 years for the concentration to double, if compounded, and 325 years if linear.

3. *Climate Change 95* also distorts the data on atmospheric methane and nitrous oxide concentrations.

There has been a downward trend in the growth rate of atmospheric methane from 1983 to 1994, with an average growth rate for 1995 of about 5ppbv/yr. If the decline in global growth rate of methane in the atmosphere continues, it may become zero by the year 2000. Yet the IPCC states in *Climate Change 95* that "in 1994 global methane growth rates recovered to about 8ppbv/yr . . ." This statement ignores the obviously falling growth rate. The IPCC authors show the 1994 growth rate as 10ppbv/yr, as averaged over the decade beginning 1984, again ignoring the decline.

Similarly inaccurate interpretations of nitrous oxide growth rates are used by the IPCC in its various scenarios. The rate of growth of nitrous oxide in 1993 was 0.5ppbv/yr, yet the figure assumed for 1990-1995 is 0.8ppbv/yr. The IPCC acknowledges that for both methane and nitrous oxide, its estimates of 1990 emissions "do not accord with emission estimates based on observed concentration data and current lifetime estimates." In other words, they admit to using inaccurate data.

4. *Climate Change 95* relies on computer models that have not been validated against actual current and past temperature records.

Climate Change 95 reports that "recent years have been among the warmest since 1860," thus isolating the only features of the global temperature record that suggest a possible agreement with greenhouse theory. The IPCC ignores those features that cast doubt on the theory, such as:

☛ the fact that the greatest temperature rise of this century (about 0.65 C) took place between 1910 and 1945. Atmospheric carbon dioxide rose only 3 percent over this period. *Climate Change 90* said, "The rather rapid changes in global temperature seen around 1920-1940 are very likely to have had a mainly natural origin";

☛ the fact that the period from 1945 to 1978, 33 years, saw a fall in temperature of 0.2° C, at a time when atmospheric carbon dioxide rose by 9 percent;

☛ the fact that the rise "over the last forty years" of 0.3° C took place (as a rise of about 0.4° C) over the short period of 1978-1996, only 18 years. The temperature since 1990 has shown signs of leveling off.

According to the IPCC, any climate change, however short, that agrees with greenhouse theory is a *long-term trend*. Any climate change, however extensive, that does not agree with greenhouse theory is either ignored (like the global drop in temperature between 1945 and 1978); too short to be representative; or an anomaly that has to be explained.

Climate Change 95 admits that the surface temperature record is subject to error: from poor sampling (particularly over the oceans), from instrumental and operational differences, and from urban development around land measurement stations. Yet its authors ignore radiosonde (weather balloon) measurements, which have been made since 1958, and the NASA satellite measurements, which have been operating since 1978. There is no evidence of a global warming trend over the past 37 years if the radiosonde measurements are considered, or over 18 years if the satellite measurements only are considered. Once again, inaccurate data are preferred to accurate data, because the former better "fits" a flawed theory.

5. The emissions scenarios presented in *Climate Change 95* are unrealistically exaggerated and do not comport with reality.

The IPCC emissions scenarios—IS92a, b, c, d, e, and f—comprise a range of assumptions regarding greenhouse gas emissions, energy usage, and economic and population growth, between 1990 and 2100. Though a plausible set of scenarios should encompass all possibilities, including reality, the IS92 scenarios all exaggerate current climate and economic trends.

The previously discussed upwards bias in the projected future emissions and atmospheric concentrations of carbon dioxide, methane, and nitrous oxide is built into all scenarios. In order to justify the assumed increases in carbon dioxide, IPCC postulates large increases in world coal production. IS92a, the "central" scenario, assumes a *sevenfold* increase in world coal production between 1990 and 2100, and IS92e assumes an *elevenfold* increase over the same period. Yet between 1990 and 1995 world coal production *fell* by 4-1/2 percent. World population and economic growth trends are similarly exaggerated and should be cause for rejecting most IPCC emission scenarios.

When it first presented its trend predictions, the IPCC warned that "Scenarios deal with the future, so they cannot be compared with observations." The scenarios all begin in 1990, so we have six-and-a-half years of observations to check their plausibility. When this is done (see table below), it is evident that all of the IS92 scenarios exaggerate what has happened over the past five years, whichever set of assumptions is chosen.

The only scenarios with any plausibility are IS92c and IS92d, and even those exaggerate likely trends in greenhouse gases, temperature, and coal production. IPCC projections to the year 2100 can therefore be taken seriously only for scenarios IS92c and IS92d, with a probability that the true figure will be below both of these. After adjusting for the exaggerated rates of increase in CO_2 and methane, we can expect the *maximum* temperature rise between 1990 and 2100 to be 1° C.

Few professional economists would be prepared to make forecasts beyond fifty years, and most would be reluctant to go beyond twenty years. The main reason is the difficulty in predicting future changes in technology. Nevertheless, the IPCC makes no apology for projecting one hundred years into the future. In its Stabilization Calculations, the IPCC goes one better, presenting graphs showing the emission controls required to achieve different levels of atmospheric stabilization of carbon dioxide concentrations to the year *2400*. Those projections have been widely reported as reliable, although they must surely be categorized as science fiction, not science.

6. *Climate Change 95* provides no useful guidance on the question of how to respond to human influence on the global climate.

IPCC scientists are under substantial pressure from those who believe that human activity is having a harmful effect on the global climate. It is to the credit of the IPCC that it has largely resisted this pressure.

Much has been made by the media of the one advance of *Climate Change 95* over its predecessors: the pronouncement that "the balance of the evidence suggests a discernible human influence on the climate." Note that this is only a suggestion, and that the nature and extent of the influence are not specified.

Humans are undoubtedly influencing the climate. The important point, though, is whether the influence is significant, and whether it matters. The IPCC provides no answers to those two important questions. As of yet, we have no firm evidence that human influence on the climate can be disentangled from other climate influences; no evidence of a significant human influence; and certainly no evidence that changes due to human activity could be harmful.

IPCC projections for the year 2000 compared with likely range from current trends

Parameter	IPCC Emission Scenarios IS92a	IS92b	IS92c	IS92d	IS92e	IS92f	Current Trend Prediction
CO_2 emissions	7.0GtC/yr	6.8GtC/yr	6.0GtC/yr	6.4GtC/yr	7.6GtC/yr	7.3GtC/yr	6.0-6.4 GtC/yr
Temp increase over 1990	0.1-0.25° C	0.1-0.25° C	0.05-0.15° C	0.05-0.15° C	0.15-0.3° C	0.15-0.3° C	0.0- 0.1° C
CO_2 concentration	373ppmv	373ppmv	373ppmv	373ppmv	373ppmv	373ppmv	362-365ppmv
CH_4 concentration	1810ppbv	1810ppbv	1787ppbv	1787ppbv	1824ppbv	1817ppbv	1750ppbv
Coal production	3.9Gt	3.8Gt	3.6Gt	3.9Gt	4.2Gt	4.0Gt	3.0-3.3Gt
World population	6.2b	6.2b	6.1b	6.1b	6.2b	6.4b	6.1b

Contacts

The Abraham Lincoln Foundation
1710 Underpass Way, Hagerstown, MD 21740-6961

Acton Institute
161 Ottawa NW #301, Grand Rapids, MI 49503,
616/454-3080, info@acton.org

Accuracy in Academia
4455 Connecticut Ave NW #330, Washington, DC
20008, 202/364-3085, fax 202/364-4098

Accuracy in Media
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW #330,
Washington, DC 20008, 202/364-4401,
fax 202/364-4098, ar@take.aim.org

Advocates for Self-Government
1202 N. Tennessee Street. #202, Cartersville, GA
30120, 770/386-8373, fax 770/386-8323

The Alabama Family Alliance
PO Box 59468, Birmingham, AL 35259,
205/870-9900, fax 205/870-4407, ptarget@aol.com

Alexis de Tocqueville Institution
1611 North Kent Street, #901, Arlington, VA 22209,
703/351-4969, fax 703/351-0090, adti@erols.com

The Alexis de Tocqueville Institution 1611 North Kent Street #901, Arlington, VA 22209, phone 703/351-4969, fax 703/351-0090, e-mail adti@erols.com. The Alexis de Tocqueville Institute (AdTI) is a nonpartisan public policy research organization founded in 1986 to study, promote, and extend the principles of classical liberalism: political equality, civil liberty, and economic freedom. AdTI conducts research on five key areas of concern to policy makers: taxes and economic growth, education, immigration, national defense, and deregulation. It publishes a wide range of studies, articles, and op-eds. AdTI was recently named by *The National Journal* as one of five "up-and-coming" think tanks in Washington, D.C. More information is available at the AdTI Web site, http://www.schoolreport.com/AdTI.

Allegheny Institute for Public Policy
7 Parkway Center #612, Pittsburgh, PA 15220,
412/937-4526, fax 412/928-1501

American Conservative Union
1007 Cameron Street, Alexandria, VA 22314,
703/836-8602, fax 703/836-8606

American Council on Science and Health,
1995 Broadway, 2nd Floor, New York, NY
10023-5860, 212/362-7044, fax 212/362-4919,
acshmail@aol.com

American Enterprise Institute
1150 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036,
202/862-5800, fax 202/862-7178

American Institute for Economic Research
PO Box 1000, Great Barrington, MA 01230,
413/528-1216, fax 413/528-0103, aier@world.std.com

American Land Rights Association
PO Box 400, 30218 NE 82nd Avenue, Battle Ground,
WA 98604, 360/687-3087, alra@pacifier.com

American Legislative Exchange Council
910 17th Street NW, 5th Floor, Washington, DC 20006,
202/466-3800, fax 202/466-3801

American Policy Center
13873 Park Center Road #316, Herndon, VA 22071
703/925-0881, fax 703/925-0991

Americans for Tax Reform
1320 18th Street NW #200, Washington, DC 20036
202/785-0266, fax 202/785-0261

American Studies Institute
Harding University, Box 899, Searcy,
AR 72149, 501/279-4497, fax 501/279-4076,
gardner@harding.edu

America's Future Inc.
7800 Bonhomme, St. Louis, MO 63105, 314/725-6003,
fax 314/721-3373, eamiller@basenet.net

Arizona Institute
7049 East Tanque Verde Road #386, Tucson, AZ
85715, 520/722-3300, fax 520/722-3335

Arkansas Family Council
1300 Westpark Drive #5-B, Little Rock, AR 72204,
501/664-4566, fax 501/664-2317

Arkansas Policy Foundation
Stephens Building, 111 Center Street #1610
Little Rock, AR 72201 501/376-9967, fax 501/376-6556

John M. Ashbrook Center
Ashland University, 401 College Avenue, Ashland, OH
44805, 419/289-5411, fax 419/289-5425

Atlantic Legal Foundation
205 East 42nd Street, 9th Floor, New York, NY 10017,
212/573-1960

The Atlas Economic Research Foundation
4084 University Drive #103, Fairfax, VA 22030-6812,
703/934-6969, fax 703/352-7530, atlas@his.com

Beacon Hill Institute for Public Policy Research
Suffolk University, 8 Ashburton Place, Boston, MA
02108-2270, 617/573-8750, fax 617/720-4272,
bhi@beaconhill.org

The Blum Center for Parental Freedom in Education
Marquette University, Brooks Hall 209, PO Box 1881,
Milwaukee, WI 53201-1881, 414/288-7040,
fax 414/288-3170, blumcenter@vms.csd.mu.edu

The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions
131 North Ludlow Street #317, Dayton, OH 45402,
937/224-8352, fax 937/224-8457, buckeyeins@aol.com

California Public Policy Foundation
PO Box 931, Camarillo, CA 93011, 805/445-9183

Calvert Institute
2806 North Calvert Street, Baltimore, MD 21218
410/662-7110, fax 410/662-7112

Capital Research Center
1513 16th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036-1401,
202/483-6900, fax 202/483-6902

Capitol Resource Institute
1314 H Street #203, Sacramento, CA 95814, 916/498-1940, fax 916/448-2888, capitolres@aol.com

The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions 131 North Ludlow Street #317, Dayton, OH 45402, phone 513/224-8352, fax 513/224-8457, e-mail buckeyeins@aol.com. The Buckeye Institute for Public Policy Solutions is a nonprofit research and education institute made up of Ohio professors and scholars and a full-time staff in Dayton. The Institute provides market-oriented solutions for state and local problems faced by Ohioans. Its work focuses on six primary areas: education, taxes and spending, economic development, health care, poverty and welfare, and the environment.

Cascade Policy Institute
813 SW Alder Street #300, Portland, OR 97205,
503/242-0900, fax 503/242-3822,
cascadepol@aol.com

Catalyst Institute
33 North LaSalle Street #1920, Chicago, IL 60602,
312/541-5415, fax 312/541-5401

Cato Institute
1000 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC
20001, 202/842-0200, fax 202/842-3490,
cato@cato.org

Center for Independent Thought
938 Howard Street, San Francisco, CA 94103,
415/541-9780, fax 415/541-0597, orders@lfb.org

Center for Individual Rights
1300 19th Street NW #260, Washington, DC 20036,
202/833-8400, cir@mail.wdn.com

Center for Market Processes, Inc.
4084 University Drive #208 Fairfax, VA 22030
703/934-6970, fax 703/934-1578, cmp@gmu.edu

Center for the New West
600 World Trade Center, 1625 Broadway, Denver, CO
80021, 303/572-5400, fax 303/572-5499,
cnwinfo@newwest.org

Center for Policy Studies
201 Sirrine Hall, Clemson University, Clemson, SC
29634, 803/656-1346, fax 803/656-4532

Center for Rebuilding America's Schools
800 East Northwest Highway #1060, Palatine, IL
60067, 847/202-3060, fax 847/202-9799

Center for the School Community
121 North Kickapoo, Lincoln, IL 62656, 217/732-6462,
fax 217/732-3696

Center for the Study of American Business
Washington University, Box 1208, One Brookings
Drive, St. Louis, MO 63130-4899, 314/935-5630,
fax 314/935-5688, warren@csab.wustl.edu

Center for the Study of Popular Culture
9911 West Pico Boulevard #1290, Los Angeles, CA
90035, 310/843-3699, fax 310/843-3692

The Center for Education Reform
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #204, Washington, DC
20036, 202/822-9000, fax 202/822-5077,
cerdc@aol.com

Center of the American Experiment
1024 Plymouth Building, 12 South Sixth Street, Minneapolis, MN 55402, 612/338-3605, fax 612/338-3621,
amexp@amexp.org

Center of the American Experiment

1024 Plymouth Building, 12 South Sixth Street, Minneapolis, MN 55402, phone 612/338-3605, fax 612/338-3621, e-mail amexp@amexp.org. The Center of the American Experiment is a nonpartisan, tax-exempt public policy and educational institution that brings conservative and alternative ideas to bear on the most difficult problems facing Minnesota and the nation. It focuses on three sets of issues: Improving education; reducing poverty, crime and other problems by recognizing their cultural dimensions, particularly the importance of personal responsibility; and strengthening the economy by better appreciating the unmatched power of free markets. Its Web site address is http://www.amexp.org.

CEO America
PO Box 1543, Bentonville, AR 72712, 501/273-6957,
fax 501/273-9362, ceoa@aol.com

Citizens against Government Waste
1301 Connecticut Avenue NW #400, Washington, DC
20036, 202/467-5300, fax 202/467-4253

Citizens for a Sound Economy
1250 H Street NW #700, Washington, DC 20005-3908,
202/783-3870, fax 202/783-4687, cse@cse.org

Citizens for Educational Choice
90 Highland Street, Milford, MA 01757, 508/634-6847

Citizens for Educational Freedom
12571 Northwinds Drive, St. Louis, MO 63146-4503,
314/434-4171

Citizens League
708 South 3rd Street #500, Minneapolis,
MN 55415, 612/338-0791, fax 612/337-5919,
lwray@epx.cis.umn.edu

The Claremont Institute
250 West First Street #330, Claremont, CA 91711,
909/621-6825, fax 909/626-8724, bboychuk@aol.com

Choice in Education Foundation, Inc.
1821 University Ave. W. #305-S, St. Paul, MN 55104-2801, 612/644-8547

Committee for a Constructive Tomorrow
PO Box 65722, Washington, DC 20035, 202/429-2737,
fax 301/859-0944, cfact@dgs.dgsys.com

**The Commonwealth Foundation
for Public Policy Alternatives**
3544 North Progress Avenue #101, Harrisburg, PA
17110, 717/671-1901, fax 717/671-1905

Competitive Enterprise Institute
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #1250, Washington, DC
20036, 202/331-1010, fax 202/331-0640, info@cei.org

Congressional Institute, Inc.
316 Pennsylvania Avenue SE #403, Washington, DC
20003-1147, 202/547-4600, fax 202/547-3556
leader@CongInst.org

Connecticut Policy and Economic Council, Inc.
99 Pratt Street, #500, Hartford, CT 06103,
860/527-8177, fax 860/246-9790, cpec@aol.com

Constitutional Heritage Institute
608 North 108th Court, PO Box 540787, Omaha, NE
68154, 402/493-9155, fax 402/333-5193,
chioffice@aol.com

Consumer Alert
1001 Connecticut Avenue NW #1128, Washington, DC
20036, 202/467-5809, fax 202/467-5814,
calert@aol.com

Consumers Research, Inc.
800 Maryland Avenue NE, Washington, DC 20002,
202/546-1713, fax 202/546-1638, crmag@aol.com

Council for Affordable Health Insurance
112 South West Street, 4th Floor, Alexandria, VA
22314, 703/836-6200, fax 703/836-6550

Defenders of Property Rights
6235 33rd Street NW, Washington, DC 20015,
202/686-4197, fax 202/686-0240, dwalmasi@aol.com

Delaware Public Policy Institute
PO Box 1052, Wilmington, DE 19899-1052,
302/655-7221, fax 302/654-0691

Drug Policy Foundation
4455 Connecticut Avenue NW #B-500, Washington,
DC 20008, 202/537-5005, fax 202/537-3007

The Dumont Institute
236 Johnson Avenue, Dumont, NJ 07628,
201/501-8574, fax 201/387-0744,
info@dumontinst.com

Education Policy Institute
4401-A Connecticut Avenue NW Box 294
Washington, DC 20008, 202/244-7535,
fax 202/244-7584, sdchar@aol.com

The Educational Excellence Network
223 North Guadelupe Street #305, Sante Fe, NM
87501, 202/966-8922, fax 202/363-0488

The Empire Foundation for Policy Research
4 Chelsea Place, Clifton Park, NY 12065,
518/383-2877

Employee Benefit Research Institute
2121 K Street NW #600, Washington, DC 20037
202/659-0670, fax 202/775-6312

Environmental Education Enterprises
2764 Sawbury Boulevard, Columbus, OH 43235,
614/792-0005, fax 614/792-0006, e3jklucky@aol.com

Ethan Allen Institute
RFD 1-Box 43, Concord, VT 05824-9505,
802/695-1448, fax 802/695-1448,
ethallen@plainfield.bypass.com

Evergreen Freedom Foundation
PO Box 552, Olympia, WA 98507, 360/956-3482,
fax 360/352-1874, effwa@aol.com

Families Against Mandatory Minimums
1001 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200-S, Washington,
DC 20004, 202/457-5790, fax 202/457-8564

The Family Foundation
PO Box 22100, Lexington, KY 40522, 606/255-5400

The Family Institute
200 12th Avenue South, Nashville, TN 37203,
615/254-3917

Family Research Council
801 G Street NW, Washington, DC 20001, 202/393-2100, fax 202/393-2134, frc@sojourn.com

Family Research Institute of Wisconsin
111 King Street #25, Madison, WI 53703-3339,
608/256-3228, fax 608/256-3370

**The Federalist Society for
Law and Public Policy Studies**
1700 K Street NW #901, Washington, DC 20006,
202/822-8138, fax 202/296-8061

Florida Family Council
101 East Kennedy Boulevard #3120, Tampa, FL 33602,
813/222-8300, fax 813/222-8301

Focus on the Family
8605 Explorer Drive, Colorado Springs, CO 80920,
719/531-3400, fax 719/548-4525

**Foundation for the Advancement
of Monetary Education**
211 East 43rd Street #2202 New York, NY 10017-4707,
212/818-1206, fax 212/818-1197

The Foundation for Economic Education
30 South Broadway, Irvington-on-Hudson,
NY 10533, 914/591-7230, fax 914/591-8910,
freeman@westnet.com

Foundation for Florida's Future
PO Box 144155, Coral Gables, FL 33114,
305/442-0414, fax 305/442-2215, cory@fff.org

**Milton & Rose D.
Friedman Foundation**

One American Square #2440, P.O. Box 82078, Indianapolis, IN 46282, 317/681-0745, fax 317/681-0945. The Friedman Foundation promotes public understanding of the need for major reform in K-12 education and of the role that competition through educational choice can play in achieving that reform. It was established in September 1996 by a generous contribution from renowned economists Milton and Rose Friedman. Among other activities, the foundation conducts research and education programs; provides legal assistance to communities and parents; and makes grants to parental groups and nonprofit organizations promoting school choice. The foundation accepts tax-deductible contributions from any private source that shares its mission.

**Foundation for Research on
Economics and the Environment**
945 Technology Boulevard #101F, Bozeman, MT
59715, 406/585-1776, fax 406/585-3000, free@mcn.net

The Fraser Institute
626 Bute Street, 2nd Floor, Vancouver, BC, V6E 3M1
Canada, 604/688-0221, fax 604/688-8539,
fraser_institute@mindlink.bc.ca

Contacts

Free Congress Foundation
717 Second Street NE, Washington, DC 20002,
202/546-3004, fax 202/546-7689, netmail@fcfef.org

Free Enterprise Institute
9525 Katy Freeway #303, Houston, TX 77024,
713/984-1343

Free Market Committee
PO Box 740367, Dallas, TX 75374, 214/348-2801

Free Market Foundation
PO Box 741777, Dallas, TX 75374, 214/680-9171

Milton & Rose D. Friedman Foundation
One American Square #2440, P.O. Box 82078,
Indianapolis, IN 46282, 317/681-0745,
fax 317/681-0945

Future of Freedom Foundation
11350 Random Hills Road #800, Fairfax, VA 22030,
703/934-6101, fax 703/803-1480, freedom@fff.org

The George C. Marshall Institute
1730 K Street NW #905, Washington, DC
20006-3868, 202/296-9655, fax 202/296-9714,
debett@marshall.org

Georgia Family Education and Research Council, Inc.
3937 Holcomb Bridge Road #301, Norcross, GA
30092, 404/242-0001, fax 404/242-0501

Georgia Public Policy Foundation
4340 Georgetown Square #608, Atlanta, GA 30338,
770/455-7600, fax 770/455-4355, gppf@america.net

Golden State Center for Policy Studies
1127 11th Street #206, Sacramento, CA 95814,
916/446-7924, fax 916/446-7990, britrav@aol.com

Institute for Independent Education
1313 North Capitol Street NE, Washington, DC 20006, phone 202/745-0500, fax 202/745-9298, e-mail iie@prodigy.com. The Institute for Independent Education provides technical assistance and policy development to independent community-based schools nationwide and offers in-service workshops for teachers, administrators, and parents. The group maintains a database on independent community-based schools and is developing a fundraising program to increase the availability of tuition scholarships, expand teacher training opportunities, and enhance the institutional operation.

Goldwater Institute
201 North Central, Phoenix, AZ 85004, 602/256-7018,
fax 602/256-7045, goldwat@soho.ios.com

Gun Owners of America
8001 Forbes Place, Springfield, VA 22151,
703/321-8585

The Heartland Institute
800 East Northwest Highway #1080, Palatine, IL
60067, 847/202-3060, fax 847/202-9799,
think@heartland.org

The Heritage Foundation
214 Massachusetts Avenue NE, Washington, DC
20002, 202/546-4400, fax 202/546-8328,
info@heritage.org

Hillsdale College
33 East College Street, Hillsdale, MI 49242,
517/437-7341, fax 517/437-0160

Hoover Institution
Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305-6010,
650/723-1754, fax 650/723-1687

Hudson Institute
Herman Kahn Center, PO Box 26-919, Indianapolis,
IN 46226, 317/545-1000, fax 317/545-9639

Illinois Public Policy Caucuses
151 North Michigan Avenue #2815, Chicago, IL 60601
312/565-4499, fax 312/565-4460

Independence Institute
14142 Denver West Parkway #185, Golden, CO
80401, 303/279-6536, fax 303/279-4176,
tomtank@aol.com

Independent Institute
134 98th Avenue, Oakland, CA 94603, 510/632-1366,
fax 510/568-6040, independ@dnai.com

Indiana Policy Review Foundation
PO Box 25125, Fort Wayne, IN 46825-0125
46204-1725, 317/236-7360, fax 317/236-7370

Institute for American Values
1841 Broadway #211, New York, NY 10023,
212/246-3942

Institute for Contemporary Studies
720 Market Street, 4th Floor, San Francisco, CA
94102, 415/981-5353, fax 415/986-4878,
icspress@hooked.net

Institute for Humane Studies
George Mason University, 4084 University Drive
#101, Fairfax, VA 22030, 703/934-6920,
fax 703/352-7535, ihs@gmu.edu

Institute for Independent Education
1313 North Capitol Street NE, Washington, DC 20006,
202/745-0500, fax 202/745-9298, iie@prodigy.com

Institute for Justice
1717 Pennsylvania Avenue NW #200, Washington, DC
20006, 202/955-1300, fax: 202/955-1329

Institute for Policy Innovation
250 South Stemmons Highway #306, Lewisville, TX
75067, 214/219-0811, fax 214/219-2625, ipi@ipi.org

Institute for Research on the Economics of Taxation
1300 19th Street NW #240, Washington, DC 20036,
202/463-1400, fax 202/463-6199

Institute of Economic Affairs
2 Lord North Street, London, SW1P 3LB, UK, fax (+44)
(0)171 799 2137

Institute of Political Economy
Utah State University, Political Science Department,
Logan, UT 84322-0725, 801/797-2064, fax 801/797-
3751, c-nielsen@wpo.hass.usu.edu

The Institute on Religion and Public Life
156 Fifth Avenue #400, New York, NY 10010,
212/627-1985, fax 212/627-2184

The James Madison Institute
PO Box 37460, Tallahassee, FL 32315-7460,
904/386-3131, fax 904/386-1807,
MadisonJMI@aol.com

Jeffersonian Health Policy Foundation
136 John Tyler Highway, Williamsburg, VA 23185,
757/252-2729

The John Locke Foundation
1304 Hillsborough Street., Raleigh, NC 27605,
919/828-3876, fax 919/821-5117, locke@interpath.com

Josiah Bartlett Center for Public Policy
PO Box 897, Concord, NH 03302-0897,
603/224-4450, fax 603/224-4329

Kansas Public Policy Institute
8165 East Central #304, Wichita, KS, 67206
316/683-0261, fax 316/683-0734, KPPI@aol.com

Laissez Faire Institute
828 North Poplar Court, Chandler,
AZ 85226, 602/940-9824

Landmark Legal Foundation
2345 Grand Avenue #2310, Kansas City, MO 64108,
816/474-6600, fax 816/474-6609, hutchp@aol.com

Law and Economics Center
University of Miami, PO Box 248000, Coral Gables,
FL 33124, 305/284-6174, fax 305/662-9159,
kwclarkson@aol.com

Lincoln Legal Foundation
100 West Monroe #1600, Chicago, IL 60603,
312/606-0951, fax 312/606-8879

Louisiana Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 80362, Baton Rouge, LA 70898,
504/387-2242, fax 504/387-2244

Mackinac Center for Public Policy
PO Box 568, Midland, MI 48640, 517/631-0900,
fax 517/631-0964, mcppideas@aol.com

Manhattan Institute
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017, 212/599-
7000, fax 212/599-3494, dotsikas@pppmail.nyser.net

Media Research Center
113 South West Street, 2nd Floor, Alexandria, VA
22314, 703/683-9733, fax 703/683-9736,
ajmrc@aol.com

Michigan Family Forum
611 South Walnut Street, Lansing, MI 48933,
517/374-1171, fax 517/374-6112

The Mid-America Legal Foundation
150 N. Michigan Avenue #2500, Chicago, IL 60601,
312/750-3569

Minnesota Family Council
2855 Anthony Place South #150, Minneapolis, MN
55418-3265, 612/789-8811, fax 612/789-8857

Minority Mainstream
13555 Bammel North Houston #189, Houston,
TX 77066, 713/228-6246, fax 713/583-9534,
grichardson@ghgcorp.com

Mississippi Family Council
PO Box 13514, Jackson, MS 39236, 601/969-1200,
fax 601/969-1600, msfamily@aol.com

Mountain States Legal Foundation
707 17th Street #3030, Denver, CO 80202-3404,
303/292-2021, fax 303/292-1980

National Center for Policy Analysis
12655 North Central Expressway #720, Dallas, TX
75243-1739, 972/386-6272, fax 972/386-0924,
ncpa@onramp.net

National Center for Public Policy Research
300 Eye Street NE #3, Washington, DC 20002,
202/543-1286, fax 202/543-4779, reliefprt@aol.com

National Chamber Foundation
1615 H Street NW, Washington, DC 20062,
202/463-5552, fax 202/463-3124

National Legal Center for the Public Interest
1000 16th Street NW #500, Washington, DC 20036-5705, 202/296-1683, fax 202/293-2118, info@nlcpi.org

National Rifle Association of America
11250 Waples Mill Road, Fairfax, VA 22030-7400,
703/267-1000, fax 703/267-3918, contact@nra.org

National Right to Work Committee
8001 Braddock Road, Springfield, VA 22160,
703/321-9820, fax 703/321-7342

National Taxpayers Union
108 N. Alfred Street, Alexandria, VA 22314,
703/683-5700, fax 703/683-5722

Nevada Policy Research Institute
PO Box 20312, Reno, NV 89515-0312,
702/786-9600, fax 702/786-9604

New Citizenship Project
1150 17th Street NW #510, Washington, DC 20036,
202/822-8333, fax 202/822-8325

New Coalition for Economic and Social Change
300 South Wacker Drive #601, Chicago, IL 60606,
312/427-1290, fax 312/427-1291

New England Legal Foundation
150 Lincoln Street, Boston, MA 02111,
617/695-3660, fax 617/695-3656

New Mexico Foundation for Economic Research
PO Box 1216, Albuquerque, NM 87103,
505/243-5400, fax 505/243-1700

New York Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 469 Port Chester, NY 10573,
914/939-0067, fax 914/939-0174

Oklahoma Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 2181, Edmond, OK 73083-2181,
405/330-4002, fax 405/330-3601

Oklahoma Council of Public Affairs
100 West Wilshire Avenue #C-3, Oklahoma City,
OK 73116, 405/843-9212, fax 405/843-9436,
ocpathink@aol.com

Oklahoma Family Policy Council
5101 North Classen Boulevard #307, Oklahoma City,
OK 73118-4422, 405/840-3005, fax 405/840-4288

Pacific Legal Foundation
2151 River Plaza Drive #305, Sacramento,
CA 95833-3881, 916/641-8888, fax 916/920-3444

Pacific Research Institute
755 Sansome Street #450, San Francisco, CA 94111,
415/989-0833, fax 415/989-2411, pripp@aol.com

Parents Rights
12571 Northwinds Drive, St. Louis,
MO 63146, 314/434-4171

Partners Advancing Values in Education
1434 West State Street, Milwaukee, WI 53233,
414/342-1505, fax 414/342-1513

Pattern Research
PO Box 9845, Denver, CO 80209, 303/778-0880,
fax 303/778-2680, lief@pattern.rmnug.org

Pennsylvania Family Institute
3544 N. Progress Avenue #104, Harrisburg, PA 17110,
717/545-0600, fax 717/545-8107, pafamily@aol.com

Pennsylvania Leadership Council
225 State Street #330, Harrisburg, PA 17101,
717/232-5919, fax 717/232-1186

PERC
502 South 19th Street #211, Bozeman, MT 59715,
406/587-9591, fax 406/586-7555, perc@perc.org

The Philanthropy Roundtable
320 North Meridian Street, #908, Indianapolis, IN
46204-1725, 317/639-6546, fax 317/236-7370

Pioneer Institute
85 Devonshire Street, 8th Floor, Boston,
MA 02109, 617/723-2277, fax 617/723-1880,
75374.643@compuserve.com

Privatization Research Organization,
School of Public Affairs
Baruch College/City University of New York,
17 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10010,
212/802-5909, fax 212/802-5903

The Progress and Freedom Foundation
1301 K Street NW #650 West, Washington DC 20005,
202/289-8928, fax 202/289-6079, mail@pff.org

The Property Rights Foundation of America Inc.
PO Box 75, Stony Creek, NY 12878, 518/696-5748

Public Affairs Research Institute of New Jersey
212 Carnegie Center #100, Princeton, NJ 08540-6212,
609/452-0220, fax 609/452-1788, parinj@aol.com

Public Interest Institute
600 North Jackson Street, Mt. Pleasant, IA
52641-0135, 319/385-3462, fax 319/385-3799

Public Service Research Foundation
527 Maple Avenue East, 3rd Floor, Vienna,
VA 22180, 703/242-3575, fax 703/242-3579

Reason Foundation
3415 South Sepulveda Boulevard #400,
Los Angeles, CA 90034-6064, 310/391-2245,
fax 310/391-4395, rich@reason.org

Rockford Institute
934 Main Street, Rockford, IL 61103, 815/964-5053,
fax 815/965-1826, rkfdinst@bossnt.com

Rose Institute for State and Local Government
Claremont McKenna College, Claremont,
CA 91711, 909/621-8159, fax 909/607-4288,
anguyen@cmcvax.mckenna.edu

Science & Environmental Policy Project
4084 University Drive #101, Fairfax, VA 22030,
703/934-6940, fax 703/352-7535

Separation of School and State Alliance
4578 North First #310, Fresno, CA 93726, 209/292-1776, fax 209/292-7582, separate@sepschool.org

Sequoia Institute
3479 Beaver Ford Court, Woodbridge,
VA 22192, 703/590-0496, fax 703/730-1156

Small Business Survival Committee
1320 18th Street NW #200, Washington, DC 20036,
202/785-0238, fax 202/822-8118, rstikes@sbsc.org

South Carolina Policy Council
1323 Pendleton Street, Columbia, SC 29201,
803/779-5022, fax 803/779-4953
scpc@city-online.com

Southeastern Legal Foundation
3340 Peachtree Road NE #2515, Atlanta,
GA 30326, 404/365-8500, fax 404/365-0017

Sutherland Institute
111 East 5600 South, Murray, UT 84107

State Policy Network
816 Mill Lake Road, Fort Wayne, IN
46845-6400, 219/637-7778, fax 219/637-7779

The St. Lawrence Institute
PO Box 307, N.D.G. Station, Montreal,
Quebec, H4A 3P6, 514/489-0312,
sparkins@pharma1.pharma.mcgill.ca

Sutherland Institute
Independence Square, 111 East 5600 South #208,
Murray, UT 84107, 801/281-2081, fax 801/281-2414

Tax Foundation
1250 H Street NW #750, Washington, DC
20005-3908, 202/783-2760, fax 202/942-7675

Texas Citizens for a Sound Economy
1005 Congress Avenue #910, Austin, TX 78701,
512/476-5905, fax 512/476-5906

Texas Public Policy Foundation
PO Box 40519, San Antonio, TX 78229, 210/614-0080,
fax 210/614-2649, pppf@txdirect.net

Thomas Jefferson Institute
8107 Long Shadows Drive, Fairfax Station, VA 22039

U.S. Term Limits Foundation
1125 15th Street NW #501, Washington, DC 20005,
202/463-3200, 800/733-6440, fax 202/463-3210

Utah Taxpayers Association
1578 West 1700 South #201, Salt Lake City,
UT 84104, 801/972-8814, fax 973-2324

Virginia Citizens for a Sound Economy
PO Box 7551, Charlottesville, VA 22906,
703/863-8612, fax 703/863-8614

Virginia Institute for Public Policy
47779 Fathom Place, Sterling, VA 20165-7423

Washington Institute for Policy Studies
PO Box 24645, Seattle, WA 98124-0645,
206/938-6300 (800/546-4460), fax 206/938-6313,
WIPS@wips.org

Washington Institute Foundation
4025 Del Ridge Way SW #210, Seattle, WA 98106,
206/937-9691 (888/943-9799), fax 206/938-6313.

Washington Legal Foundation
2009 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC
20036, 202/588-0302, fax 202/588-0386

Washington Research Council
1301 5th Avenue #2810, Seattle, Washington
98101-2603, 206/467-7088, fax 206/467-6957,
71550.2021@compuserve.com

Wisconsin Policy Research Institute
PO Box 487, Thiensville, WI 53092-0487
414/241-0514, fax 414/241-0774

Yankee Institute
117 New London Turnpike, Glastonbury,
CT 06033, 860/633-8188, fax 860/657-9444

The American Freedom Library

presents

The Heartland INSTITUTE

~ ON CD-ROM ~

The Heartland Institute is expanding into yet another exciting frontier: CD-ROM!

The American Freedom Library contains a value-packed collection of Heartland *Policy Studies* and *Perspectives*. Access to the Heartland documents is available to you for just $4.95, the cost of shipping and handling. When your CD arrives, call the toll-free number to "unlock" the Heartland portion of the CD.

For an additional fee, you can also unlock thousands of pages of material from The Heritage Foundation, American Enterprise Institute, Pacific Research Institute, and other free-market think tanks. All collections are indexed by topic and fully searchable, and the documents can be downloaded directly from the CD to your computer. You pay only for the collections you want.

CALL NOW TOLL FREE 888.228.1789 CODE #79-3-1

The Heartland Institute
800 East Northwest Highway #1080
Palatine, Illinois 60067

This is your
PolicyFax
account number!

Non-profit organization
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
CHICAGO, ILL.
Permit No. 4826